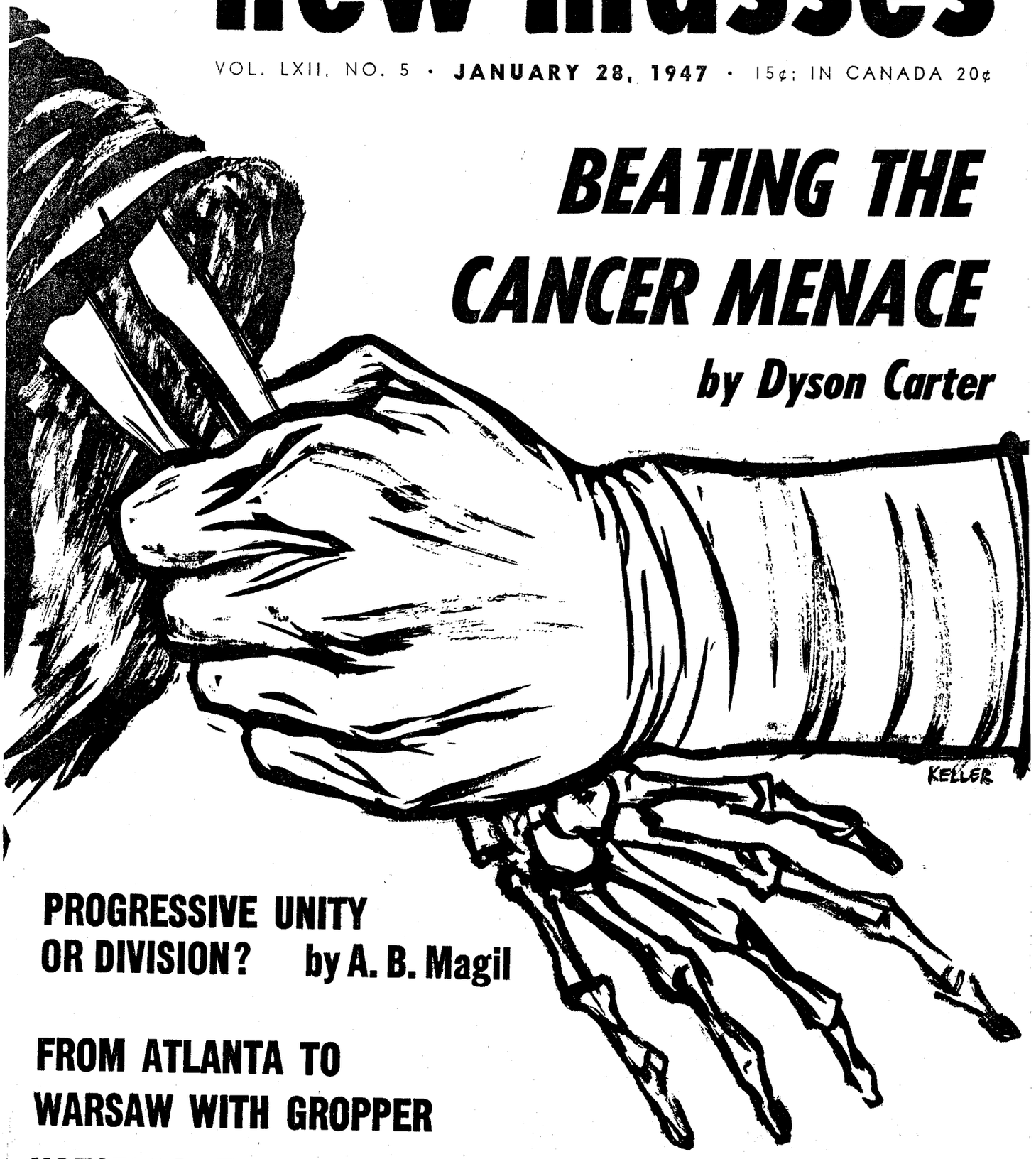
new masses

VOL. LXII, NO. 5 • **JANUARY 28, 1947** • 15¢; IN CANADA 20¢



BEATING THE CANCER MENACE
by Dyson Carter

PROGRESSIVE UNITY OR DIVISION? by A. B. Magil

FROM ATLANTA TO WARSAW WITH GROPPER

KOESTLER: THE ART OF LYING by Charles Humboldt

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just a minute

THE Nazis made many mistakes and one of them, we are sure, was their Old Soldiers' Law, which returned to France many war prisoners over the age of forty-five. The Germans were careful about which "old men" they released, since they were placing them in good positions in Vichy France and expected that each of them would be an ambassador of good will. Sometimes the German judgment was accurate but when they blundered, they blundered big. The release of Claude Morgan was such a blunder.

The Nazis found Morgan a job as Inspector of Museums with offices in the Louvre. It was a fine place for a good Communist to be and Claude Morgan immediately went to work with the Underground. As Inspector of Museums Claude packed his suitcase and his mind with the vital information needed by the resisting patriots all over France. Each "tour of inspection" was paid for by the Germans in many more ways and at a far higher price than they had planned. In between such tours, when Morgan was at the Louvre, his office would be used for meetings of resistance people. The tall, heavy doors of the four entrances would be left open during these times so that the meetings might be most quickly adjourned and in the best possible direction. Conversations at the meetings shifted from planning the next blow at the enemy (when the coast was clear) to the state of museums' tapestries (when a Vichyite ear was too close).

Perhaps Morgan's most important assignment in the Resistance was the project to establish a clandestine cultural journal, *Les Lettres Francaises*. This venture was under the direction of the brilliant young Communist leader Jacques Decour-Dimanche, whose contribution to the struggle of French intellectuals against the Germans is brightly carved in the heroic history of that period. Jacques Decour, as he is more popularly called, was the object of an endless search by the Germans and the French secret police. Morgan would meet him at an appointed hour each week before an obscure Paris cafe — until Germans posters announced throughout Paris and in the *Metro* that Decour, the Communist, had been arrested.

For a while the work of *Les Lettres Francaises* lagged. The Germans were busy subjugating Decour to their special and scientific brands of torture. The "wise" thing to do was to go into hiding, but Morgan had no use for this kind of "wisdom." He was certain that the Germans could in no way break the spirit of Jacques Decour-Dimanche, and on this conviction he gambled his own life and the lives of his family. He set to work to establish *Les Lettres Francaises* single-handedly and brought out the first issue, mimeographed, completely alone. All the material in it was written by himself—even a poem, the first one he had ever written. Jacques Decour-Dimanche was executed by the Germans without seeing the first issue of the paper he had originated—a paper which was to grow, under Morgan's directorship, into the leading cultural journal in France.

Morgan organized a group around the paper which included the poet Paul Eluard and the novelist Edith Thomas, among others. The paper made twenty appearances during the occupation and at the time of liberation of Paris blossomed out into the foremost periodical it is today.

Claude Morgan himself, now forty-nine, guides *Les Lettres Francaises*, which presents the works of the best artists of France —artists who are keenly aware of the world they live in. Morgan's thick black hair is run through with iron-grey, and his heavy eyebrows still leap or frown depending on the turn in the conversation. In spite of his many duties Morgan has found time to write novels again: his last, just published, is entitled *The Weight of the World*. Today Morgan, the "old soldier," feels young, as young as the France for whose renaissance he works with all his great talent and energy.

We are happy to announce that Claude Morgan, editor, novelist, critic, political writer and patriot, will contribute a monthly column to NEW MASSES, the first of which will appear in next week's issue. M. B.

new masses

established 1911

EDITORIAL BOARD:

STAFF: editor: JOSEPH NORTH. executive editor: A. B. MAGIL. managing editor: LLOYD L. BROWN. FREDERICK V. FIELD, JOHN STUART. washington editor: VIRGINIA GARDNER. art editor: CHARLES KELLER. assistant editors: JOSEPH FOSTER, CHARLES HUMBOLDT. ASSOCIATES: JAMES S. ALLEN, HERBERT APTHEKER, RICHARD O. BOYER, HOWARD FAST, WILLIAM GROPPER, V. J. JEROME.

editorial assistant: BETTY MILLARD.
business manager: PAUL KAYE. field director: BORETTA TARMON.
promotion manager: BEATRICE SISKIND.
advertising manager: GERTRUDE CHASE.
circulation manager: CARMELA WEINSTEIN.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: LOUIS ARAGON • NATHAN AUSUBEL • LIONEL BERMAN • ALVAH BESSIE • BYSON CARTER W. E. B. DuBOIS • R. PALME DUTT • PHILIP EVERGOOD • SENDER GARLIN • BARBARA GILES • ROBERT GWATHMEY • ALBERT E. KAHN ROCKWELL KENT • ALFRED KREYMBORG • JOHN HOWARD LAWSON MERIDEL LE SUEUR • VITO MARCANTONIO • PABLO NERUDA • ANTON REFREGIER • PAUL ROBESON • HOWARD SELSAM • ISIDOR SCHNEIDER • SAMUEL SILLEN • JAMES TURNBULL • CHARLES WHITE • DOXEY WILKERSON.

Beating the Cancer Menace Dyson Carter . . . 3
Progressive Unity or Division? A. B. Magil . . . 6
Portside Patter Bill Richards 9
Brass Hats and Your Boy Virginia Gardner 10
It's Your Move: an editorial Lloyd L. Brown . . 13
Outlook for German Labor Unity Arthur D. Kahn 14
Gropper's Cartoon 16
Maquis a la Koestler: an editorial Charles Humboldt 18
What Can You Inherit in Soviet Russia? Mikhail S. Lipetsker 20
Occupation: Housewife: a poem Eve Merriam . . 21
Book Reviews: All Thy Conquests, by Alfred Hayes: Alfred Goldsmith; Acres of Antaeus, by Paul Corey: Meridel Le Sueur; An American Churchman in the Soviet Union, by Louie D. Newton: William H. Melish 22
Theater Joseph Foster, Isidor Schneider 27
Art Joseph Solman 28
Music S. Finkelstein 29

Two weeks' notice is requested for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than the Post Office will give the best results. Vol. LXII, No. 5. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 104 E. 9th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Copyright, 1947, THE NEW MASSES, INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office.

Washington Office, 802 F St. NW, Room 28. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $6.00 a year in U. S. and Possessions and Mexico; six months $3.50; three months $2.00. Foreign, $7.00 a year; six months $4.00; three months $2.25. In Canada $6.50 a year, $4.00 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20 cents Canadian money. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelope.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beating the Cancer Menace

By DYSON CARTER

TODAY on this continent over half a million people are stricken with cancer. The American Cancer Society has proved that if the present death rate continues (about 160,000 per year) some 17,000,000 of us will be sent to the grave by various forms of malignant growths. The public is aware of this menace, for a recent Gallup Poll showed eighty-one per cent in favor of a huge federal anti-cancer fund. But this is a sort of protest vote. Nothing like the majority has any real understanding of the cancer problem. Cancer raises sharp scientific, economic and political question marks. This article is a bare outline of the extraordinary difficulties facing our cancer research specialists.

To begin with, cancer is positively not a disease of "modern civilized man." Ever since we began to study the disease specialists have combed the earth seeking just one animal which is not attacked by cancer. If we could find a cancer-free species, a study of its cells would give the priceless clue of comparison with all other animal tissues. But dogs, cats, horses, mice, elephants, fish and snakes—scientific zoos have been ransacked without finding an exception—all get cancer. A puma roaming the wild hills is no more resistant than a Park Avenue chihuahua living in hothouse conditions, and the evidence all testifies that Neanderthal man and his primeval ancestors living on the food faddist's nuts-and-berries diet also died of the disease. Years ago missionaries were regularly turning up with rumors about an Eskimo or Burmese tribe that had never known cancer. But when an oncologist—the specialist in cancerous growths—voyaged to these people he always found cancer victims among them. A few forms of cancer are caused by specifically "modern" agents like synthetic chemicals, but even here the open question is why some individuals are more susceptible than others.

Nor is cancer a disease of maturity or aging. True, it is rarer in babies and children. But far more tots under school age are killed by cancer than by infantile paralysis. Even more startling: in the school-age group of five to fourteen years cancer takes more youngsters to the grave than

diseases which parents consider especially menacing, such as diptheria, whooping cough, measles and dysentery.

These facts alone make cancer absolutely unique. But there are other cruel distinctions. This killer strikes with more weapons than any other disease. There are hundreds of its "agents" already known and the list is far from complete. The wound can be inflicted anywhere from your scalp to the tip of your toes, from the outermost layer of skin to the very center of the bone marrow.

The simplest description of cancerous growth, and the only one we can give here, is in the word *malignant*. For unknown reasons a body cell begins to multiply without its natural restraints, grows malignantly and invades the territory of other cells. Like a finance capitalist it monopolizes everything, growing with a blind and ruthless disregard for the welfare of the body as a whole. Death comes in various ways, but usually as a result of some vital organ being starved or because of poisons formed when the mass of malignant tissue begins to starve and starts decomposing.

What makes a healthy cell malignant? The scientist who answers that question will sit at the right hand of Pasteur in the Hall of Fame. Before we look at some of the guesses it is useful to ask the question in another sense. What things start malignancy?

Thirty years ago research was just beginning. Now we know of more than 300 cancer-causing agents, or carcinogens. These carcinogens can be either internal or external, and their range is appalling. Brief exposure to fiercely hot sunshine will start cancer of the lip. A blow on a woman's breast or on a man's testicles may write the terrible death sentence deep inside an injured cell. Someone else's body will stand the blazing sun for fifty years, or take incessant pounding from a machine at the factory bench, and there is no cancer clinic that could predict if and when malignancy will appear.

An infectious disease, itself very easily cured, may start cancer. So will many dyes and other chemicals. But in certain individuals so will the motor oil which is handled without harm by millions. And so will seemingly harmless things like asbestos, cloth in a textile mill, the gas we cook with and the coke in our fuel bins. If you sought escape from carcinogens you would have to flee not only from "modern civilization" but also from our planet itself, because cancer strikes in the wilderness where there are no factories, no human beings. You might get it from a fragrant tree sap, from a bump or a burn or some uncontrollable change inside your body.

The number of carcinogens is a baffling factor. The variation in individual susceptibility is worse. But another fact about cancer that has defeated many a weak-willed researcher is what we might call "delayed action." For example, X-ray technicians may be stricken within thirty days of an acute radiation burn, while others go unharmed for years. A worker in a dye factory will quit that job and stay healthy, only to come down fifteen years later with a miligant growth of the urinary tract that is typical of dye carcinogens.

Even this riddle is topped by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

almost infuriating facts about cancer and inheritance. Some *rare* families may show ten out of sixteen children blinded by retinal tumors, or an unusually high incidence of breast cancer. That is not too difficult to theorize about. But why do identical twins both get cancer twice as often as non-identical twins? And what weird genetical mechanism causes so many identical twins to get malignant growths suddenly at the same time, in the same body organ, with the disease running the same course in both individuals even though they live far apart, working in different occupations?

Just three more challenging sidelights on the puzzle. Why is a person who has had a cancer more likely to get another different growth than is the normal individual? Why will one mole or skin-spot suddenly become malignant when millions remain harmless from birth to death? And how is it possible that many specific types of cancer may result from widely different carcinogens, like radium rays, sunlight, dyes and injuries?

PERHAPS you have already jumped from these facts to one basic theory about cancer: it is possible that in the thousands of different forms of malignant growth attacking every type of cell there is a single *final* exciting cause. Call it a trigger. You may load different rifles in many different ways, with all kinds of shells and a wide variety of charges and primers, to say nothing of infinitely numerous targets to be aimed at, but every last shot is set off by the pull of a trigger. What is that deadly action inside the living cell—and what pulls the trigger?

Posting that hypothetical agent on the Wanted list leads some researchers to the ultimate in optimism. They hold that something will give us the secret of preventing, maybe curing, all forms of cancer. But clinical experience makes other men sadly pessimistic, if only because so often we do not know any malignancy exists, although a few weeks later the robust patient may enter a hospital for the last time. "Precancerous lesions" apparently never develop in some of the most fatal kinds of malignant growth.

This argument the optimists quickly discount. Eventually, they say, we will have a quick test for cancer in its earlist stages, as positive as the urine test for diabetes. In the Soviet Union the discovery by Gurvich that mito-genetic rays (emitted by all living cells, of wavelength between ultraviolet and X-rays) change with the onset of disease is now being applied experimentally by Pototskaya to the early diagnosis of cancer. In America some success has been achieved by examining fluids washed from the stomach, identifying cancer cells long before gross symptoms are noted. Over and above the major research problems is this central diagnostic hurdle that is barring the way to many known curative treatments which are effective only in the earliest stages of malignancy.

And of course all facts about the theory of cancer must be read in the light of known curative methods. Despite the prevailing mysteries medical science today can cure, for example, ninety-five percent of all skin cancers, *if* they are diagnosed and treated soon enough. Great advances have been made in curing cancer of the breast and even the graver intestinal tumors. As the American Public Health Association was told this winter, in the last ten years the death rate in cancers of the skin, mouth, breast, uterus, stomach and liver have been steadily falling, most rapidly in Massachusetts, where an educational campaign began in 1933. Side by side with research we desperately need more anti-cancer propaganda and clinical services on a national scale. If we had these, our doctors, using present knowledge, could save no less than 50,000 Americans yearly. Regular medical examination and immediate attention to any *change* in the body (external or functional) remain the individual's only means of defeating cancer.

NOW, where does basic cancer research stand? The number of investigations at present under way is so great and the literature so vast that a brief condensation of the 1946 work alone would fill this magazine. So we shall select the broadest theories.

First, cancer and diet. Innumerable quacks have prospered on superstition about cancer and "civilized" food. We have only a few unsubstantiated facts regarding the role of vitamins. But this year at McGill University the report of an empirical connection between lack of B-vitamins, liver degeneration and one form of breast cancer has revived experimental work in this field. A few months ago Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station scientists disclosed that lack of choline (a simple organic base sometimes classed as a vitamin, present in food and also an end-product of glycine metabolism in the liver) will cause a high percentage of cancer in the lungs and livers of rats. The importance of this discovery cannot be exaggerated because it is the first time cancer has been produced by dietary deficiency alone under controlled conditions.

From the Royal Cancer Hospital in England comes word that rats have been protected from liver cancer (caused experimentally by feeding a dye carcinogen) by giving them fresh milk daily. This discovery is now being carried to remote districts in Africa and Asia where the incidence of liver cancer is very high in certain tribes rarely drinking milk.

However, it is improbable that any general cause of cancer will be found in dietary factors. Bittner at the University of Minnesota Medical School has lately claimed that mice mothers transmit cancer of the breast to female offspring by three factors: a substance in milk, inherited susceptibility and "gland stimulation," and he has prevented such cancer by feeding offspring on milk from non-cancerous mothers. But his conclusions are questioned by those who advance the well-supported theory that a general cause of malignancy will be found in some form of virus or enzyme.

Potter at Wisconsin likens enzymes —biochemicals vital to food utilization and cell growth—to railway switchmen. He told the American Chemical Society: "In cancer cells, defective enzyme systems would act like saboteurs in a switchyard, sending trains off on the wrong track." And he looks forward to cancer cures based on exact knowledge concerning enzymes found in normal and malignant tissues.

Of all basic theories the *cancer virus* idea is farthest advanced. Several American and English workers have proved that a filterable extract, which behaves like a virus, can be taken from cancerous mice and grown in eggs just like the viruses of smallpox and yellow fever; this substance can be transferred from egg to egg for months and still cause cancers when injected into healthy mice. And in a recent report by Dr. Cowdry of Washington University there was expressed the cautious hope that at any moment some laboratory may drastically simplify the whole course of cancer research by discovering a more or less universal carcinogen down at the near-protein, virus-enzyme level.

It was this prevailing expectancy that led to undisguised excitement and envy when Soviet medical authorities last autumn released in quick succes-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

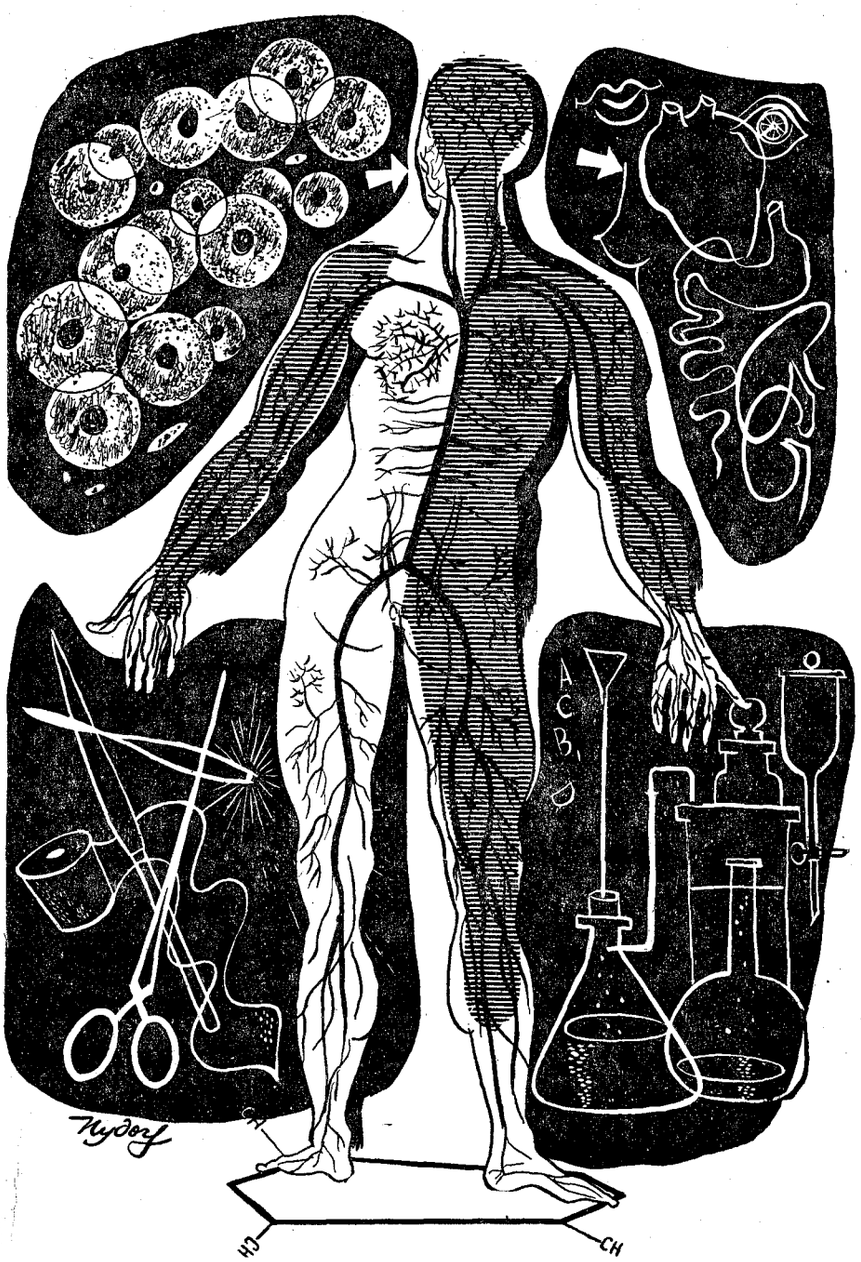
'on two very important discoveries. The first was by Roskin, based on esearch started at Moscow State Jniversity in 1926. He worked with he organism *trypanosoma kruzzi*, gent of a rare disease in men and ither animals. Roskin developed a train of trypanosomes which destroyed ancer cells in mice, later killing the nimals. In 1939 this was taken over by the clinical theoretician Klyueva (now Dr. Roskin's wife), who in the ast seven years has experimented with no less than 13,000 mice. Klyueva prepared from dead trypanosoma a virus-ike substance named K-R which effectively destroys cancer cells in a high percentage of mice, without killing the animals.

Contrary to anything else you may have read about K-R in our press, it was hailed by Moscow scientists and all other medical centers only as a momentous stride forward, the *first* great step towards a theoretically sound practice for tackling malignant growths at the biochemical level.

The second discovery was announced by Soviet Academician Gamaleia, with Muromtsev and the surgeon Krasheninnikov. It is not unrelated to the K-R research, though quite independent. In this work, again the first of its kind ever reported, a number of patients dying of inoperable tumors were cured. Their cancers were destroyed not by foreign substances of the K-R type, but by anti-cancer substances produced in the patient's own body. The body was stimulated to this activity by transplanting cells from exceptionally virulent "spreading" cancer (fresh tumors called metastases, from the lymphatic glands) to a healthy area of abdominal skin. Apparently in fighting this sudden "invasion" the healthy tissues produced enough anti-cancer substance to enable them to kill both the new invader and the older, well-established malignant growth.

"We must not think," said Gamaleia, "that we have already found a complete method of fighting cancer . . . but we can already say that we are on the right road."

As this article is being written news comes from the Carnegie Institution of Washington that Lewis, Aptekman and King have completed work on cancer in rats, very similar to, though on a lower plane than, Gamaleia's discovery. The Carnegie doctors have produced an anti-cancer substance from cancerous growth. This cured ninety-nine percent of *grafted* tumors in rats, which tumors proved fatal to 100 percent of 5,000 rats not given the protective treatment. The report reads like the preliminary work done by Gamaleia and associates quite a few years ago, on mice.



LAST spring Dr. Cowdry, a leading investigator in cancer, spoke of the Pepper-Neely Cancer Bill before Congress in these words of real yearning: "Soon we may be able to put away the smoked glasses and the begging bowl and get along with the job, without having to spend half our time trying to raise money to pay for experiments."

In the last Congress the Pepper-Neely bill asked the legislature for $100,000,000 for cancer research and treatment. The bill got nowhere, even though a Gallup Poll showed that a large majority of Americans were willing to meet this expense. Sen. Pepper has introduced another bill (S 93) in this Congress, again asking for $100,000,000—a trifle compared to the more than $11,000,000,000 arms budget asked by the White House. Thinking of the 50,000 Americans who will needlessly die of cancer this year—whose lives could be saved by known treatments unavailable because there is no money to fight cancer—our medical scientists are indeed angry. And they are not alone. For the community at large is beginning to realize that the DuPonts and the Mellons are more interested in bullets than in human life.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PROGRESSIVE UNITY OR DIVISION?

The Red-baiting Loreleis try to lure liberals into reaction's swamp

Why cooperation of all progressives, including Communists, is essentia

By A. B. MAGIL

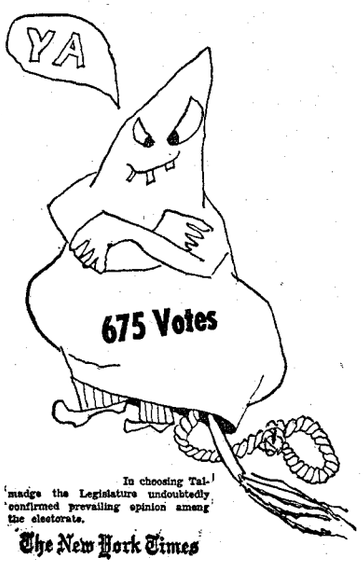
IF YOU are looking for a progressive political movement to get into, you may be puzzled by what happened in the past few weeks. Two new organizations have come into existence, both claiming the Roosevelt heritage, both summoning the people to a new Armageddon against reaction. Progressive Citizens of America and Americans for Democratic Action—noble names that imply unity and common goals. Yet between them lies a wall of ice and they are moving by separate paths.

Is this inevitable? Must we always find "captive good attending captain ill" through the division of the forces that battle reaction? There are those who make a profession of disunity and they seem to have found nothing so effective in practicing that profession as the Red bugaboo. One and a half years after the death of Joseph Paul Goebbels his soul goes marching on.

While few liberals whose names aren't Morris Ernst will embrace the more lurid lucubrations of the Rankin-Thomas committee, many all too readily accept their substance. And at the moment when independent progressives, recovering swiftly from the effects of the Republican election victory, are seeking to join forces in order to challenge reaction and frustrate its plans for 1948, they are being asked to introduce into the very heart of an infant movement this fatal lesion, the anti-Communist lie by which Hitler sought to enslave mankind and by which our own Republican and Democratic bourbons likewise hope to divide and conquer. Fantastic, isn't it? Yet this is what the leaders of the Union for Democratic Action, with whom anti-Communism has long been an obsession, are attempting to do through a new organization, Americans for Democratic Action, to which they have persuaded a number of prominent liberals — Wilson Wyatt, Chester Bowles, Leon Henderson, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and others—to lend the prestige of their names. The statement issued by the conference that launched ADA declares: "We reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with communism in the United States as completely as we reject any association with fascists or their sympathizers. This monstrously false equating of communism and fascism was supplemented with an announcement of "severe screening" for all membership applicants—evidently a "liberal" version of the old Japanese "dangerous thoughts" law.

The action of the ADA conference, taken under the tutelage of its UDA manipulators, rests on premises which in my opinion must be challenged not only by Communists, but also by non-Communist progressives. Otherwise the labor and progressive movement will be dangerously divided and weakened at a time when reaction, tasting new power, is preparing a cold pogrom on American democracy, of which the anti-labor bills are only a foretaste. These premises were stated some months ago by the national director of the UDA, James Loeb, Jr., who has now become secretary-treasurer of the new organization. In a letter to the *New Republic* of May 13, 1946 Loeb declared that American progres-

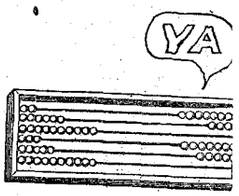
On Safari With Harari



In choosing Tal-madge the Legislature undoubtedly confirmed prevailing opinion among the electorate.

The New York Times

Capehart, Explaining His Bill at Hearing, Says Back Pay Suits Menace Industries



INCOME OF A. T. & T. $191,903,000 IN 1946

Net for Year Is Equivalent to $9.41 a Share, Against $8.66 in the Preceding Period

Several of the Bell telephone companies have found it necessary to ask regulatory bodies to approve increases in rates, Mr. Gifford declared. He reported that "increased rates amounting to $3,800,000 annually are being placed in effect in three States and applications for increases have been made in fourteen others."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sives must make two decisions: first, whether they believe that international tension "is due *exclusively* to the imperialistic, capitalistic, power-mad warmongering of the Western democracies aimed at the destruction of the peace-loving workers' democracy of the Soviet Union," or whether the problem is more complicated, with both sides to blame; second, whether "the *sole* objective of the progressive movement is economic security, or whether human freedom . . . is still a commendable objective. . . ." Assuming, Loeb continued, that "the democratic progressives of America will decide for the second of the two alternatives in each case," they must then make a third decision: "whether or not they can or should work *within the same political organizations* with those who have decided for the other alternatives, namely the Communists." [Emphasis in the original.—A. B. M.]

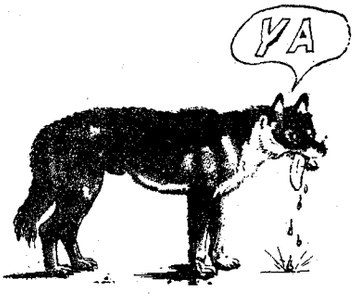
LOEB began by framing alternatives in rigid, absolute terms that bear only a distant resemblance to the real issues within the progressive movement. But see where he has ended: in the name of disassociation from Communists, he has concluded that *all* who do not accept the alternatives of his group are Communists and must be cast into stygian darkness. *Is this the kind of "severe screening" that Loeb and his intimates propose to introduce in ADA?* And is it on the basis of such a test that he and the other hate-Russia "liberals" of the UDA, the Liberal Party, and the Social Democratic Federation (not to be confused with the genuine liberals whom they are using as a front) have virtually read Henry Wallace out of the progressive movement because he dared to challenge the Byrnes-Vandenberg betrayal of the Roosevelt foreign policy?

Here in the very effort to draw a line within progressive ranks that will separate Communists from non-Communists Loeb offers proof that this must inevitably result in a sweeping purge and widespread disunity.

Among the principal reasons Loeb gives for excluding those whom he and his colleagues choose to define as Communists is the following: "No united-front organization will long remain united; it will become only a 'front.'" This is chiefly due to the fact that "independent liberals, whether we like it or not, simply will not group themselves into a disciplined, semi-conspiratorial caucus whose aim is to retain or obtain control of the organization."

Let's look at this argument soberly. In the first place, it simply isn't true that an organization which includes Communists must inevitably split and become a mere "front" for the Communist Party. Among organizations whose membership includes both Communists and non-Communists are the CIO, the AFL, the CIO Political Action Committee, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, the National Lawyers Guild, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and many others. Second, the caucus is an old-fashioned American institution which Andrew Jackson — who never heard of Marx, Lenin or Stalin—embedded in our party system; words like "semi-conspiratorial" are simply semantics for the other fellow's caucus. Third, as an expert on communism, Loeb ought to know that it is a decade or more since the Communist Party dissolved all its caucuses in progressive organizations. Fourth, in the nation's largest trade union, the United Automobile Workers-CIO, it is the Communists who have repeatedly urged the liquidation of all caucuses —a plea that has so far gone unheeded; one of the most intransigent caucus leaders in the UAW is Walter Reuther, one of the founders of ADA. Fifth, at the recent CIO convention, a caucus of Right-wing delegates took place—a minority caucus, semi-conspiratorial in nature; the man who gave the caucus its "line"—a violently anti-Soviet "line" — was none other than the national chairman of the Union for Democratic Action, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr.

FORTUNATELY there are many progressives on whom the bitter lessons of the fascist holocaust have not been lost. They believe with the liberal Republican, Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, who wrote concerning the Loeb letter: "To do what Mr. Loeb suggests is to fall for the strategy which fascists and their predecessors have used since time immemorial to divide and conquer—to destroy their opponents piecemeal. . . . If the liberals succumb to Red-baiting tactics, just as many in Germany fell for the Hitler tactic of Jew-baiting, the sure result will be disorganization in liberal ranks and the



CALLS FOR REVISION OF WAGNER LAW

Labor law changes advocated by Mr. White included: Freedom of speech for employer as well as unions; holding unions equally responsible with employers; penalty for labor and unions for mass picketing; regular election of union officials by secret ballot; abolishment of the closed shop and check-off system.

The American poet and novelist E. E. Cummings was singled out by the Moscow critic, who declared:

"He attacked the appearance of any kind of ideology in literature. But in a discussion on war poetry he did not refrain from the biggest lies about the Soviet Union."

Mr. Cummings answered yesterday:

"To be called a liar by anyone even remotely associated with the present Russian tyranny is, in my proud and humble opinion, a strictly unmitigated honor."

"Strikes should be definitely abolished.

W R Hearst

Harari.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

defeat and political slaughter of liberal leaders." (*New Republic*, May 20, 1946.) It was a constructive and unifying spirit that animated the recent convention which merged NCPAC, the ICC and eight smaller groups to form the Progressive Citizens of America. The PCA constitution sets as its aim: "to unite all progressive men and women in our nation, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or political affiliation, in an organization which is independent of political parties and dedicated to the objectives enumerated herein." What more urgent task can progressives have in this time of Vandenberg, Taft and Rankin than to rally around a standard such as this?

There is, however, still another group of progressives who seek a middle ground between PCA and ADA and are critical of the way both have handled the Communist question. *PM* and specifically Max Lerner has expressed the views of this group. It is one thing to seek a *common* ground of action between PCA and ADA—a very desirable thing. But it is another matter to search for a middle ground between divisive Red-baiting and united progressivism. This is an illusory quest which must lead to impalement on both horns of a needlessly created dilemma. At the same time I feel that the *PM*-Max Lerner view must be sharply distinguished from that of Loeb and the *New Leader*. Lerner rightly criticizes ADA (*PM*, January 9) for failing to make "a clear distinction between being *non-Communist* and being *anti-Communist*." He strikes out strongly at "the indiscriminate lumping of Communists and fascists." "The Communists," he argues, "fought the fascist enemy alongside of us in the war. They still have huge stakes in fighting the fascist enemy. . . . To lump the Communists with the fascists is an atrocious reading of history, an invitation to chaos in international relations with Russia and Eastern Europe." And he points out that the ADA approach "will alienate many liberals who prefer to do their thinking straight."

However, after rejecting this approach, Lerner accepts the major practical conclusion that flows from it: that Communists and those described as Communist sympathizers should be excluded from the progressive movement even though he concedes it may mean a loss of strength and unity—only temporarily, he thinks. But why exclude

Harari.

them at all? Because the Communists "believe neither in democracy nor in freedom—or believe only in their own very special brands of both." This is one of those blanket assertions which evidently must be taken on faith since it is not susceptible of concrete proof. Just when and where have the Communists shown a disbelief in democracy and freedom, or a belief *only* in their own special brand? By the fact that they "fought the fascist enemy alongside of us in the war"? By the fact that "they still have huge stakes in fighting the fascist enemy"? By the fact that they are, to quote Lerner again, "sturdy opponents of reaction"?

YES, the Communists do believe in a special brand of democracy and freedom: the superior socialist brand. It is just this that makes them the most passionate defenders of the more limited democratic gains won under capitalism, gains whose defense and extension are inseparable from the advance to socialism. Perhaps this is what Freda Kirchwey has in mind when she says in her *Nation* piece (January 11) that the Communists prove embarrassing to some liberals because of "their habit of doing first and more energetically a lot of things the rest of us are sure we could do better but haven't quite got around to."

Alice in Wonderland encountered no greater marvel than this: that those who fight fascism in war and in peace are charged with "totalitarianism," while a David Dubinsky, who split the American Labor Party rather than abide by the will of the majority and endorsed a reactionary Republica for Congress in an effort to defeat a outstanding progressive, Vito Marcan tonio, passes for a believer in democ racy and freedom!

And who is to define that infinitel elastic term, "Communist sympa thizer"? Did not Hitler define it t include even conservative Catholic op ponents? Did not the Republicans an our home-grown fascists define it t include especially President Roosevelt And have not the professional anti Communist operators who promote ADA defined it for all practical pur poses to include Henry Wallace an everybody else for whom his name i not an epithet? For that matter, wha about *PM* itself, which endorsed Mar cantonio, whom Lerner describes—an therefore proscribes—as a "Communis sympathizer"? And Max Lerner, wh has on occasion called himself a believe in "democratic socialism," who onc wrote a laudatory essay on Lenin's *State and Revolution* and has no doub committed other similar "sins"—can he be certain that he too will not fall under the ban?

It seems to me that Lerner commits the very error for which he criticizes ADA: he fails to distinguish clearly between non-Communist and anti-Communist; in fact, he actually defines the former in terms of the latter. A non-Communist progressive movement? Of course! That is, a progressive movement which is non-Communist in the same sense as it is non-Democratic and non-Republican: a movement uncommitted to any political party though it includes progressives from all parties. But that is quite different from a movement which creates from among its own adherents a caste of political untouchables against whom it wages war. Such a movement, as experience has shown, is self-devouring, its energies consumed more in keeping itself "undefiled" than in fighting the enemy. And this tactic ultimately invites the enemy—remember, it happened in Germany—to purge the purgers and obliterate even the shadow of a democratic movement.

Disunity and loss of strength are not the only evil consequences of establishing anti-Communism as a principle within the progressive movement. In the effort to avoid agreement with the Communists on any issue—despite actual agreement on most issues—the very objectives of the progressive cause are likely to be lost. Thus the Union for Democratic Action gives full and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uncritical support to our anti-democratic and imperialist foreign policy—and is echoed by the ADA conference; David Dubinsky endorses a reactionary Republican, Max Eastman supports Dewey against Roosevelt, Morris Ernst wraps his arm chummily around Martin Dies and J. Edgar Hoover. What next?

HOWEVER, not all is harmony in the house that Loeb and Dubinsky have built. Already one of the leading participants in the ADA conference—in fact, its foremost personality, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt—has publicly disavowed its central thesis that communism and fascism are the same. In her column on January 11 Mrs. Roosevelt, while continuing mistakenly to see "many similarities" between the two, emphasizes the differences. She concludes: "I think we can see the possibilities of improved cooperation between communism of the Left and the democracy of the Center, but there can be no cooperation at any point, at any time, between democracy and the fascism of the Right."

Mrs. Roosevelt's attitude is undoubtedly shared by other liberals whom the Social Democratic factionalists are using in the creation of what they hope will be an anti-Communist front. Those in both PCA and ADA who want a dynamic progressive movement rather than destructive internecine feuds undoubtedly can find a basis for cooperation on specific issues: for example, the anti-labor bills now before Congress and the implementation of the Roosevelt Bill of Economic Rights. This would be an important step toward larger unity.

Essentially there are two alternatives: the different varieties of liberals and progressives, who disagree among themselves on many questions, are being asked to agree on the one issue on which reaction wishes agreement: a ruinous witch-hunt against Communists and "sympathizers"; on the other hand, they are being asked, despite all differences, including differences on the attitude toward the Communists, to unite against the common Wall Street enemy that threatens to annul the gains of recent years—to unite for new democratic advance, for a determined fight to wrest victory in 1948 and after. A united progressivism means a much broader movement than is represented by the combined forces of PCA and ADA; it means too a political coalition solidly built on a labor base, out of which can come a new political alignment and a new people's party.

I have written mostly about the evil effects of any attempt to exclude the Communists and other Left-wingers. But there are important positive gains from including them in every type of progressive activity. I have not the space to discuss this in detail, but there are others besides Miss Kirchwey who can testify to the energy and initiative of the Communists—even though the *Nation's* editor isn't certain they ought to be included in a new progressive political movement. Individual Communists and the party as a whole sometimes make mistakes, but what fair-minded person can deny the enormous contribution American Communists have made in the struggles of the unemployed, in the fight for Negro rights, in the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions, in the heroic battle for Spanish democracy, in prosecuting the anti-fascist war on both military and home fronts, in lighting the fires of a progressive literature and culture, in countless other causes?

In my opinion there is one contribution to the health and effectiveness of American progressivism that urgently needs to be made. It may seem like a small matter, and yet its results are potentially great. What Communists believe and do not believe, how they behave and do not behave has been so consistently misrepresented that it is not only difficult for the general public but even for sincere non-Communist progressives to know where the truth lies. It seems to me that no person who is seriously concerned with the future of American democracy can ignore this grim fact: with the overthrow of the principal fascist dictatorships, there is no country, with the possible exception of Franco Spain, in which anti-Communism has reached such vast and virulent proportions and is pursued with so much official sanction and connivance as in the United States. That is why I feel it would be a real service to the entire progressive cause if liberal publications like *PM*, the *Nation* and the *New Republic* would open their pages to statements of the Communist position by Communists rather than exclusively by their opponents. In the course of such public discussion it would also be possible to consider those criticisms of the Communist Party or of individual Communists that need to be distinguished from Red-baiting.

portside patter

By BILL RICHARDS

There has been talk of a plan to broadcast sessions of Congress. Some people feel that soap operas are bad enough without having to listen to a GOP stalwart work himself into a lather.

●

The programs could probably run along conventional lines. Announcer: "Republicans, 99.44% pure hot air, present 'Life Can Be Beautiful in '48' or 'Just Plain Bills' or 'No Truth, Just Consequences.' Remember, folks, Republicans are guaranteed to cure everything. If, after a four-year trial, you are not completely satisfied, what's left of your country will be cheerfully refunded."

●

The program could also feature a singing commercial by the Taft-Vandenburg-Bricker-Wherry quartet:

President Truman is on the spot,
37 billion, that's a lot,
Half as much will have to do,
The GOP is the party for you.

●

The idea has limitless possibilities. Announcer: "We will now hear from one of our 475 Republican Presidential candidates—stay tuned to this Stassen." Or: "If taxes give you a headache, just take one of our Presidential aspirants."

●

There might be some interest in a quiz program between the defeated members of Congress and its war veterans: Lame Ducks vs. Ruptured Ducks.

●

Perhaps the recipes filibustered from time to time by the Southern Senators will have a certain housewife appeal. It should be pointed out, however, that anything cooked up by the Southern Senators will be without Pepper.

●

A swarm of locusts descended on Jerusalem last week. It must come as some consolation to the British to learn that they are not the only plague in Palestine.

●

President Truman presented Congress with a budget weighing seven pounds thirteen ounces. Not a single American hailed it as a blessed event.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRASS HATS AND YOUR BOY

The administration's drive for peacetime conscription is meeting some opposition.

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

APPARENTLY the War Department and the President are determined to foist universal military training—pardon me, universal training—on the people willy-nilly. Perhaps it is a measure of how far we already have been taken on the road to militarization that, ignoring the overwhelming sentiment expressed against peacetime conscription in late 1945 and early 1946, the War Department has renewed its drive for legislation and the President has asked for it in his message to Congress. Of the $37,500,000,000 budget he called for, more than $11,000,000,000 would go to maintaining our armed forces in the manner the atom bomb has accustomed us to. While Sen. Robert A. Taft, Rep. John Taber and other Republican leaders immediately said that could be trimmed somewhat, there was almost no concerted criticism of his big plans for the military.

To date in the new Congress the Republicans seem to be walking on eggshells as far as universal military training is concerned. But the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training is going blithely ahead with hearings twice weekly in the White House.

"They are entirely executive," John Ohly, executive secretary, told me. "So far we have heard mostly witnesses from the State and War Departments, because they seem to be the ones who are moving and can tell us what they conceive this universal military training—I mean universal training—to be."

"Well, which is it, universal training or universal military training?" I asked.

"I think the former encompasses the latter," he said somewhat primly. But everyone on the committee, he assured me, even those who had testified in favor of universal military training, was "trying to look at it objectively." A member of the commission is Father Edmund Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University and head of its Foreign Service School, long the chief source of candidates for the Foreign Service. So the State Department is indirectly well represented. Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who testified strongly in favor of the legislation, is chairman. He would be highly satisfactory to the military. Charles E. Wilson, head of General Electric, is on the committee to represent industry, and there seems to be no question that he does. The White House version of a spokesman for labor, on the other hand, is Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, industrial relations consultant. The committee will hear all points of view, I was assured, but "is interested in individuals as well as organizations," and will not allow just anyone who wants to to testify.

The truth is that most organizations were strongly opposed to universal military training when the House Military Affairs Committee held hearings. They included educational organizations, all farm groups, the CIO, AFL, the railroad brotherhoods, the International Association of Machinists, virtually all of the religious organizations which presented testimony (except the American Council of Christian Churches, whose spokesman devoted himself to excoriating the USSR and explaining that free enterprise in the US comes from the teachings of the Bible).

Since then terrific pressure has been exerted by the War and Navy Departments on schools and educators to "go along." Certain concessions have been granted and some sweetening up has been done by the military.

As an example, the Navy's new NROTC plan will provide tuition and fifty dollars a month subsistence for 5,000 boys for four years while they get degrees, in return for which they serve two years in the Navy, then go into the Reserve subject to call to active duty. Dr. Frank Brown, executive secretary of the President's Committee on Higher Education, and who as an American Council on Education spokesman may testify shortly, told me that he had been misquoted, that he did not attack the Navy plan, that it has "much to commend." He is urging the Army to do the same. He only feels, he said, that comparable programs in training for non-military pursuits should be developed, else the "Army and Navy will draw off the best brains" of our youth. Asked whether he meant programs in scientific training and the professions and liberal arts, he mentioned specifically science, government employment and the diplomatic service. They should be subsidized by the government and a scholarship board set up. He made it clear that this would not be a part of military training, and "would have to be totally independent of the military." But there is danger that advocates of such a plan, however sincerely antimilitarist, may run into trouble and unwittingly play into the hands of those who, finding they can't sell out-and-out military training in peacetime to the US public, will settle for a military training program in the guise of an educational program.

The chairmen of both new streamlined Armed Forces committees in House and Senate are committed in favor of universal military training. But Sen. Chan Gurney (S. D.) spoke charily when I talked to him. When I ventured that Republican leaders were not speaking out much on it, he said: "They hadn't ought to—that is, until we study it."

Extension of Selective Service is another thing, a separate issue, and the committee "will be governed by the need" for it, Sen. Gurney told me. This will be at least partially determined in secret sessions when Army, Navy and Intelligence chiefs will be heard. When I asked Sen. Gurney if he had changed his own position on

Virginia Gardner has gone to Atlanta to give NEW MASSES readers a behind-the-scenes story of the battle over the Georgia governorship. Watch for her piece in next week's issue.

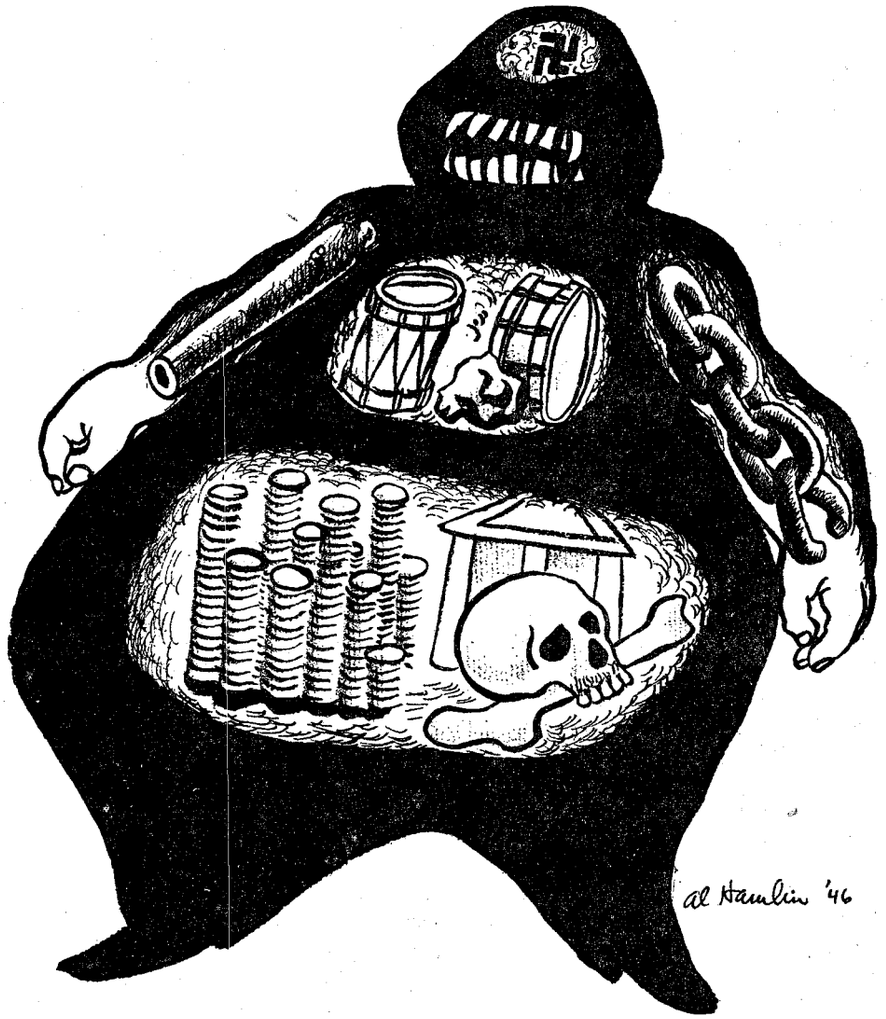
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

universal military training, he said, "My opinion is that this country should have it, but as to what type and what form—" on that he was open-minded.

DESPITE the Republican ambitions for 1948 and the immense unpopularity of universal military training and extension of the draft, which Sen. Gurney may regard as separate issues but which witness after witness regarded as essentially the same in peacetime, it would be dangerous to think that the people had won. The military has no intention of stopping its pressuring. Republican leaders, whether they have declared themselves on peacetime conscription or not, have been loud in acclaim of the Baruch plan to do away with the principle of unanimity and to continue to build bigger and better atom bombs until we force on the world our own exclusive conditions for international controls. The people's fight to ward off universal military training is part of the entire fight for peace, and without a foreign policy based on Big Three agreement peacetime conscription will continue to be a threat, and more of a threat under a Republican Congress than it has been. The fact is that our military forces must be no larger than what our commitments under the United Nations charter will demand.

Most of the witnesses who opposed peacetime conscription linked it with our foreign policy and warned against its disrupting the United Nations organization and any effectual cooperation. Citing a resolution passed by the National Grange in November, 1945, Fred Bailey, of the Grange, opposed extension of the draft and universal military training in hearings last April on the extension of Selective Service. "We believe that it would be a serious breach of good faith to launch upon a policy of militarism while asking the rest of the world to abolish war," he said.

Martin Miller, legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, at the same hearing told the House Military Affairs Committee: "Make no mistake. For the United States to adopt military conscription in peacetime or to keep extending the Selective Training and Service Act is to tell the world that we intend to place our faith in military might, not in the UN. It will tell our own people that the Congress favors a basic change in their way of life, not one leading to peace and security but one leading to militarism, international suspicion, and, finally, to another war."



Illustrative of the large number of religious organizations which sent spokesmen to both hearings on the extension of the draft and universal military training was the statement of Rev. J. M. Dawson, president of the executive committee of the Southern Baptist Convention, and pastor of a church in Waco, Tex., for thirty-one years. He represented the Southern Baptist Committee on World Peace, which he said was "widely representative of some five and one-half million Southern Baptists." In his formal statement on behalf of his committee, read on April 3 here, Mr. Dawson said in part: "We are convinced that universal compulsory military training for youth voted now, to be enforced in peacetime, would be highly prejudicial to faith in any international organization against aggression." Speaking informally, he continued, "The continuation of the draft implies an ultimate world domination by holding great military forces over large areas beyond the time and the need for such."

On December 3, 1945, Dr. Ralph McDonald, former professor at Duke and other universities, and executive secretary of the Department of Higher Education of the National Education Association, appeared before the committee. As he pointed out during hearings on the May bill for universal military training, "Every official spokesman of established national organizations representing the millions of people in these great fields appearing before this committee has opposed the immediate enactment of the program."

Dr. McDonald's organization is the national body of state and local education associations having a dues-paying membership of 733,409, and in addition, has 331,605 members paying dues direct. He was speaking at the behest of the executive committee of higher education teachers. He assured the committee that "the responsible educational leadership of the nation is at least two-to-one against the proposal before this committee," and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pointed out that the educators who had spoken for it represented themselves alone. Even the official spokesmen for colleges and universities with military training programs—the land-grant institutions — failed to support the proposal, he pointed out, although their institutions received large grants of federal money and had military men in their administration.

Dr. McDonald explained that were the bill to become law the military would have to induct skilled educators to train the youth. "The real question is one of control," he said. "The military would like to control the educators and the boys for at least one year of their training. Then the military wants to extend its control by calling them back regularly for refresher and re-training programs. Ultimately, as in Germany and Japan, the military would want to control all education and make it into a propaganda instrument for force and war." One reason Dr. McDonald urged the committee to withhold action on the bill was that "such a policy would lead straight to war." It would mean the sabotage of the United Nations "along with the hopes of mankind for peace and justice."

"Already the United States has started a world-wide armaments race," said the educator. "The President publicly used the term 'stay ahead' in his address calling for compulsory military training and a world order built upon might and power. General Groves based his plea for more atomic bombs on the argument that we must 'stay ahead.' . . . We are today the only dangerous nation on earth," he told the committee. And he begged them "to reject this war-mongering policy and help set this nation and the world on the road to peace, not annihilation."

A number of women also testified at the 1945 hearings, including Mrs. Harper Sibley, representing the United Council of Church Women. She was among representatives of 22,000,000 organized women the War Department had shepherded together to try, in an all-day briefing, to convince on the virtues of universal military training. Mrs. Sibley had held her ground, however, and her fierce opposition remained intact. Among other things Mrs. Sibley told the legislators that "as women we have a right" to oppose peacetime conscription in terms of the cost of human life, reminding them that "we do not have our children in absentia as men do." Her last point was that "we are not a country that believes in having the military dictate to us international foreign policy." To pass the bill, she said, "would be a thing that might indeed jeopardize to the point of failure the new United Nations Organization."

THE military training program alone would cost some $3,000,000,000 a year. Various Congressmen questioned War Department officials in a vain effort to learn how much more would have to be spent on weapons and up-to-date equipment. William S. Knudsen, the big industrialist, replied cheerfully, when asked if the people would not recoil against such a costly program: "If they are scared, they will spend $10,000,000,000 or $20,000,000,000 a year." When he was asked if he felt "the US should prepare now for a third world war" his answer was simple. "Yes, sir," he said. One member was impolite enough to ask the industrialist if he had not come here at the age of twenty from his native land to avoid four years of military service. The general dodged that one.

Another monopolist, Charles R. Hook, president of the American Rolling Mill Co., of Middletown, O., and former chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers, and member of the Business Advisory Council for the Department of Commerce, testified enthusiastically for universal military training.

Still another, a former colonel, Dunlap C. Clark, president of the American National Bank of Kalamazoo and chairman of the National Defense Committee of the US Chamber of Commerce, virtually claimed the US Chamber inspired the bill. "The proposed legislation is in close accord with the views of the Chamber membership, as expressed over a year ago in a referendum vote on universal military training in peacetime," he said.

When he finished, the committee chairman, Andrew J. May of Kentucky, later the object of a Senate investigation for his munitions company deals, and who was defeated last November, was a-twitter. He found Clark's statement "so clear and convincing" that he asked copies for each member "if you do not consider it too costly." Mr. Clark allowed as to how he was sure "the Chamber will be happy to do that."

This same Mr. Clark had appeared before the old Woodrum postwar committee to support universal military training, after which an Associated Press story as carried in the New York *Times* began: "'A year of compulsory military service for America's young men,' the United States Chamber of Commerce said today, 'would be good business.'"

"That was what Gustav Krupp and Fritz Thyssen thought when they supported Hitler. I don't know of any more odious or more disgraceful reason for forcing every boy of America into the Army mould than that." This was the reply to the Chamber line made by Dr. Allen Bates to the May committee. Manager of chemical and metallurgical research for Westinghouse Laboratories, he made it clear he did not appear in any way as a representative of Westinghouse, but for the executive council of the Churches of Christ of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, of the Society of Friends of the same place, of the Unitarian Churches and the Women's International League of that community.

THE opposition in the country to universal military training is strong but the Army is putting on a campaign of ballyhoo and pressure which will require even greater opposition. One must see clearly that the effort to militarize our youth is an integral part of monopoly's strategy at home and abroad. It cannot be separated from American imperialism's effort to straitjacket Europe and Asia, or from the drive to repress the labor movement within the country. If one compares the Army's military training propaganda with certain pages from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* the whole issue becomes even clearer.

Must Reading!

Inside Europe's New Democracies

by

K. Zilliacus

The man who led the Labor MP revolt against Bevin's foreign policy tells what he learned in a recent trip on the Continent. An indispensable article for those deeply concerned about America's future.

COMING SOON IN NEW MASSES

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IT'S YOUR MOVE

An Editorial by LLOYD L. BROWN

MAH JONG, Chinese checkers, backgammon and gin-rummy—had enough? Well, there's a new game out. They're playing it down in Washington. All he best people. It's in the papers and on the radio. The latest ndoor sport is called "Monopoly." It's new, it's different ınd not to be confused with the old-fashioned parlor pastime ɔf the same name. Easy to play, too. You have a board called 'NAM Platform," and on top of it there's a big dome. And ınder the dome are your men that you have to move around. The cardboard cut-outs are called Congressmen: the big ɔnes with the floppy black hats and string ties are called Senators; the little ones with the string ties and floppy black ıats are called Representatives. Cards? Yes, you use them too—a well-marked deck with a joker called a "truman." And, we almost forgot—in this game Organized Labor is "it." That's the guy you've got to tag—but good. This is no penny-ante stuff, either. The stakes are big and are played for keeps. If you're not a big operator keep out and don't kibitz from the sidelines.

But suppose you're a little guy called John Q. Public and you're very much interested in monopoly and you don't want to keep your trap shut while the big boys play their game? Well, in that case you'd better get hep—and fast. Because one of the stakes in this game (even if you're not playing) is your own welfare. Your bread and butter.

If you haven't been paying close attention to the game and don't know what the score is you might think that this big talk against "monopoly" is all to the good. Like most Americans you're against the idea of a few people grabbing control of the nation's wealth and power and making the rest of us pay through the nose. Maybe you've even read somewhere in the paper—way back on page umpteen in small type—that big-business monopoly has become much stronger in the last few years. That 250 giant corporations now control two-thirds of the nation's industries. That more than 500,000 small businesses were squeezed out entirely during World War II. That corporation profits (like prices) are at an all-time high and that the big boys are expecting even higher "earnings" in 1947.

But if that's what you think all the hullabaloo is about you're off base by a country mile. You can tell how wrong such an idea is when you see that it is the big monopolists themselves who are leading this new crusade against "monopoly." It's a smart trick, but a simple one when you get right up close and take a good look. Here's how it works: The men of the trusts are against trade unions. Naturally. The people are against monopolies. Right. So if you tell the people that the trade unions are monopolies they'll go along with your men in Congress when they introduce bills to kill organized labor. Only you don't say kill, you say "curb."

It's the new line of the National Association of Manufacturers. They ask Congress to make it illegal for "a union or unions representing the workers of two or more employers to take joint action or engage in other monopolistic practices." Millions are being spent to put across the idea that labor is a monopoly and that something has got to be done about it. And in Washington they've started to do something.

You could see it coming when Robert A. Taft, leader of the GOP mahouts in the Senate, assumed chairmanship of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Before the seats had been properly warmed in the Eightieth Congress a stack of anti-labor bills was rushed in by the Congressional servitors of the NAM. There'll be more—probably even before this issue hits the stands. But let's take a look at some of the main ones which have been introduced already:

First there is the Taft-Smith-Ball bill (S 55), which is a retread of last year's Case bill. Benignly presented as a measure "to provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes," its provisions greatly curtail labor's rights under the Wagner Act. Sen. Joseph Ball (R., Minn.) came up with two bills. One would simply abolish the closed shop, which he says is "one of the most illiberal practices existing in American labor relations." The other would cripple labor by outlawing all industry-wide bargaining.

Then there's a Howard K. Smith bill amending the Wagner Act out of existence, and a Margaret Smith bill requiring all trade unions to incorporate and come under the regulations of the Security and Exchange Commission. The monopoly angle is given a new twist in another bill introduced by Rep. Frank Case (R., S. Dak.) which permits the government to issue anti-strike injunctions in any case involving "essential monopolized service or industry."

As *Business Week* (January 11) blandly puts it: "For those whose purpose it is to use legislation as a new device for doing a little old-fashioned union busting, the problem of writing some labor laws is simple." So simple. And so easy to spell out its meaning: blacklist and yellow-dog contract, labor spy and goon squad, sweatshop and company town—with a blackjack at the end for an exclamation mark.

THE labor movement has failed so far to swing into a counterattack. But the unions now are stronger than ever—strong enough to rally a majority of the people to defeat the hatchet-men. And the strategy for this battle has been outlined in the CIO's call for united labor resistance.

Inseparable from this defensive struggle is the fight for higher pay to maintain living standards. A recent Gallup Poll found that "public pressure for wage increases is rising because of high prices." This pressure is widely reflected among white-collar workers as well as those in industry, with the school teachers a militant new battalion in the drive. All of this too is at stake in the crooked little game now being played in the halls of Congress.

In an article, "A Time of Crisis" (*CIO News*, January 13), Philip Murray highlighted the far-reaching import of labor's battle: "With the government having capitulated on prices and profit-regulation, only labor—with its demands for wage increases—stands as a major force actively striving for a proper distribution of purchasing power. *Labor's success or failure in this struggle will determine whether our people can live in decency, our economy function freely, our nation avoid the debacle of depression and chaos.*"

Well, John Q., you haven't been in on the game but it's time for your move.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTLOOK FOR GERMAN LABOR UNITY

Did Russian pressure bring Socialists and Communists together i the Soviet zone? The right-wing Social-Democrats sing an old tune

By ARTHUR D. KAHN

MY BOSS in our MG office in Berlin was convinced that the Russians were employing pressure to bring about the union of the two workers' parties, the Social Democratic and Communist Parties. To him the proof that pressure was applied was that there was no comparable popular demand for a Socialist Unity Party in the American zone. His judgment, of course, was based on an incomplete understanding of the general political scene in both zones. There had certainly been no need for any pressure in the Russian zone. On the other hand, there had been demands for unity in the American zone even though conditions in the zone discouraged such a development.

When we first swept through Germany, anti-fascists in many communities formed Antifas (Anti-fascist Committees) to protect themselves against resurgent reaction. The leadership of these unity committees was composed primarily of Communists and Social Democrats. But the Antifas were quickly dissolved—often to the accompaniment of much profanity from MG officers who wanted to rule and get things moving and did not want to be bothered by any political "complications."

Unity among the Social Democrats and Communists had developed in the concentration camps. Even Kurt Schumacher, present head of the right-wing, anti-coalition Social Democrats in the Western zones, had promised his fellow concentration camp inmate, Albrecht Buchmann, leader of the Communist Party in Baden-Wuertemberg province, that he would always strive for the unity of the two parties if they were ever liberated from Dachau.

Even before political parties were officially authorized by the Potsdam Declaration, local SPD (Social Democratic Party) and KPD (Communist Party) leaders in the American zone were discussing the general problem of workers' party unity in the American zone. In July, 1945, the Munich leaders established a unity platform for joint action. Two months later the Frankfurt parties followed suit. In Stuttgart, the third largest city in the American zone, the two parties worked in close cooperation on the local anti-fascist committee. Similarly, in small communities all over the zone, joint committees for united action were springing up.

In July, before the Munich SPD and KPD had signed their joint action agreement, Thomas Wimmer, present Buergermeister of the city, and Gustav Schieffer, leading trade union official, both old SPD men, told me that there was nothing to separate them from their Communist "brothers," whose strength, they said, had grown considerably and might even equal that of the Social Democrats. "Communists today—men like our good friend City Councilman Hirsch—are really democrats," declared Wimmer. "Bavarian reaction can only be overcome if we are united."

A month later Wimmer assured me that the inter-party cooperation would bring results. The two parties were preparing a joint protest to MG on the preponderance of rightists and Nazis in the local and provincial administrations. In an attempt to avoid this demarche, Stadelmayr, the reactionary second Buergermeister of Munich, who was later forced to resign because of membership in the Nazi Party, had attempted to bribe Wimmer with the offer of an appointment as third Buergermeister. But Wimmer, trembling with indignation, insisted he was not going to accept crumbs from the Catholics, nor would he consider such an offer without consulting his Communist colleagues. The Communists opposed accepting the offer. But ten days later I read that Wimmer had been appointed third Buergermeister of Munich.

That was the beginning of the breach. Two months later, in October, 1945, Hoegner, head of the SPD in Bavaria, accepted the position of Minister President of Bavaria without consulting either his Social Democrat colleagues or the Communists.

WITH the assistance of the Amer cans, the SPD had won powe alone, without requiring KPD assist ance. And in January, 1946, Wimme declared: "If the Communists wan to be represented on the editorial staf of the Munich newspaper along wit the other parties, they must first prov they are democratic." In July, whe he had needed them, he had had n doubt of the democracy of the Com munists.

In Frankfurt, where the MG ha appointed a former Wehrmacht majo and pro-Nazi to be mayor, the SPI did not hesitate to sign a unity agree ment with the KPD in September 1945. Ullrich, an old SPD party boss assured me that the only differenc between his party and the KPD wa on the question of collective guilt (The right-wing Social Democrati leaders reject any guilt for them selves.) But the two parties, in hi opinion, had no choice but to cooper ate, although the SPD had to be wary of KPD "totalitarianism" and "ties t Russia."

In October, 1945, the two partie joined in publishing an open letter t Minister President Geiler of Greate Hesse (in the American zone) pro testing the preponderance of reaction aries in the provincial cabinet. By the end of November, however, the Social Democrats ceased inviting Communist leaders to attend their functions in keeping with their joint agreement. On December 11, Markscheffel, a representative of the French Socialist Party, brought greetings from Leon Blum to the 1,000 assembled delegates of the Greater Hesse SPD. At this meeting the Communists' suggestion that the two parties submit joint lists in the January elections was rejected.

Despite their discontinuance of inter-party cooperation, the Social Democratic machine politicians in the American zone met little organized

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pposition from the ranks. Demands or real cooperation or for full unity were being voiced, however, by SPD party leaders in small communities—in Kreis (county) Gelnhausen, Kreis Dieburg, in the towns of Bensheim, Hanau, Friedberg, Giessen, Lampertheim, Bickenbach and the Schierstein suburb of Wiesbaden. But the top provincial leadership ignored these demands and definitely committed itself to Schumacher, leader of the anti-coalition forces.

But suddenly the old men in the SPD were forced to sit up. The SPD and the KPD of Wiesbaden, in a meeting, December 22, called by Oskar Mueller, (KPD) Minister of Labor in the Hessian Cabinet, and by Buergermeister Maas and Minister of Interior Venedey (SPD), issued an appeal for the unity of the workers' parties. As a result of this meeting—eleven days after the SPD conference at which the French Socialist had spoken and the suggestion for joint lists had been rejected—a unity committee was set up. It was agreed that all questions would be solved jointly and that joint election lists should be established wherever it appeared probable that neither party would receive enough votes to be represented in an election district. The delegates also demanded that the provincial committees of both parties expose the enemies of labor unity and form a united workers' party.

In October, 1945, two months before this meeting, I had visited Buergermeister Maas, a nice old man of about seventy and a determined fighter for the working class. He had told me in a weary, deliberate voice: "I'm tired of our fighting among ourselves. And I don't want my grandchildren to go through a period like the one we've just had. There's no reason why we shouldn't unite. That's the only way we can assure our future."

"Hortense, I feel that at last we're on solid ground."

SPD functionaries answered the Wiesbaden resolution at a provincial meeting at Frankfurt late in December. "Every attempt must be made to develop a positive unified belief in democracy among the working class." Then—"but the question of unification of the two workers' parties can only be decided after Germany is unified, the peace treaty has been ratified, a national party meeting has been held and the Socialist International has taken a position on the question." The SPD leadership in the West was going all-out—alone.

That meant first of all the development of a platform differing significantly from that of the other workers' party. The disagreement between the two parties on the question of collective guilt would certainly not appear to be sufficient reason to the workers for the continued split in the working class. Having no positive program, the right-wing leaders of the Western SPD have been forced to engage in snide attacks on the Communists, whom they accuse of being "agents of a foreign power," of "supporting another kind of dictatorship." They rehash pre-1933 events with Social Democratic interpretations to "expose" the tactics of the KPD before Hitler came to power. While the Communists admit that they made some mistakes, the Social Democrats conveniently forget their whole history of appeasing reaction and their refusal to join the Communists in joint action against the Nazis.

Like right-wing Social Democrats

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all over the world, the SPD in the western zones has appropriated socialist and "humanitarian" slogans and made no attempt to put them into practice.

When playing "revolutionary," the Social Democrats go "super-left." They will tell you they are more radical than the Communists since they want more basic changes than the KPD is advocating. For example, in the winter of 1945, the SPD leaders declared they would not endorse land reform as carried out in the Russian zone and as the KPD had been advising. Socialists, says the right-wing hierarchy, do not believe you can take property away from one man and give it to others because Socialists hold that all the land is the property of the state. In effect, that means no land reform at all.

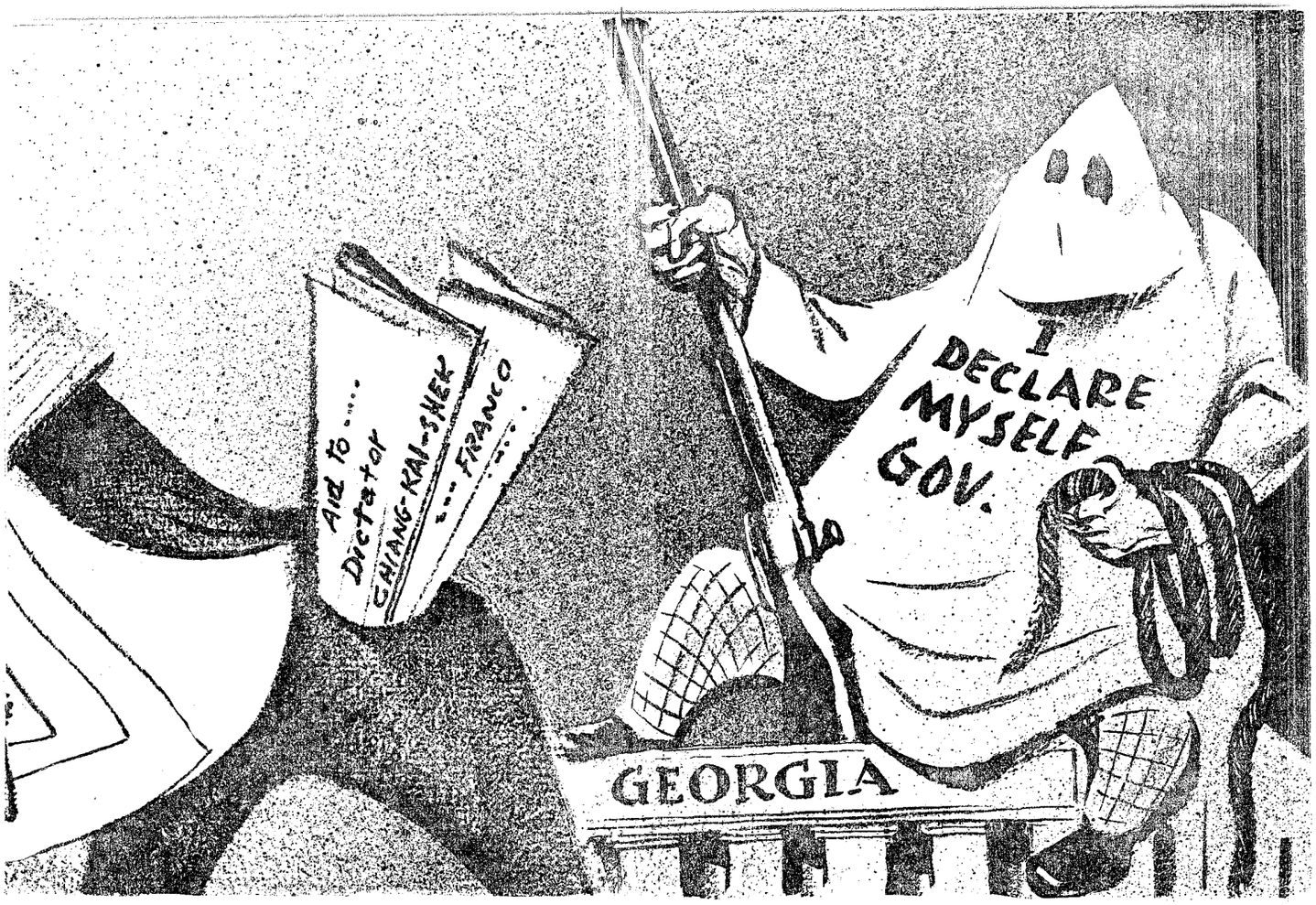
The right-wing of the SPD also supports the idea of a "western bloc" with its logical extension to Bavarian separatism and the permanent division of Germany into two spheres. These Social Democrats have also definitely tied themselves to the Bevin outlook in the British Labor Party. The Labor government in written orders to the British MG has committed itself to the support of the SPD. In April, 1946, a British MP named Mayhew personally transmitted the best wishes of the Labor Party to the Bavarian conference at Erlandgen (US zone) at which, under Hoegner's leadership, the Bavarian SPD rejected the unity of the workers' parties. And when Schumacher visited England at the invitation of the Labor Party in November, 1946, he was accompanied by Wilhelm Knothe, chief of the Hessian (American zone) SPD.

THE right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have had to exercise more and more pressure to force their line on the lower functionaries and on the rank and file. Official party statements aimed at applying pressure on potential insurgents constantly and self-consciously reaffirm "the determination of the party leaders to follow the direction provided by the Western Zone leadership." To play safe, however, the party leadership officially forbade Social Democrats from attending the unity discussions in Berlin last spring on pain of expulsion. In June, Hans Venedey, Hessian Minister of Interior and one of those responsibile for the Wiesbaden unity meeting, was expelled from the party because of his insistence on the need for unity. Until he was read out of the party, he was constantly prevented from expressing his views at party conferences. "I had the audacity," he declared, "to have a free opinion. But the Schumacher SPD line is intolerant and does not allow any divergent opinion. That is the reason for my expulsion from the party."

In the Soviet zone of Germany, the conscious anti-fascist orientation and the dynamic program of democratization of social and economic institutions required a different type of political leader—vigorous and determined anti-fascists. Since the beginning of the occupation Communists and Social Democrats in the Russian zone have worked together on committees to reorganize the police, clean out the Nazis and establish local anti-fascist administrations. Together SPD and KPD men planned and effected the land reform, the nationalization of the banks, insurance and the mines. Why should they not work together in a single workers' party?

As early as June, 1945, Otto Grotewohl, then chairman of the SPD Central Committee and presently co-chairman of the Socialist Unity Party, who even before 1933 had urged unity of the two parties, suggested the fusion of the SPD and KPD. The Commun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ists at that time rejected his proposal, declaring that the two parties needed experience in working together first to show their membership that cooperation was feasible and necessary. By the fall of 1945, demands for unity of the two parties were coming from cities all over the Russian zone. In response to these resolutions, Grotewohl invited the leaders of the SPD from all Germany to attend a party convention in Berlin.

The answer of the British was to fly Schumacher to Berlin, put him in MG officers' quarters, transport him in an MG limousine to speaking engagements at local SPD headquarters. Schumacher called for a revolt against the "high-handed" action of the Central Committee, insinuated that Grotewohl's action was the result of Russian pressure and warned that the KPD leadership would, in effect, be capturing the SPD. Schumacher succeeded in provoking the Berlin functionaries to demand a separate Berlin vote on the issue.

The vote in Berlin in April was not against unity. Only a small percentage of the voters rejected close cooperation with the KPD. The vote represented reformism, apathy, and the personal desire of many party bosses to retain their political positions. It was also a vote for "western" orientation, for SPD anti-coalition propaganda had made it appear that voters had to express themselves for the "West" or the "East"—in effect, for status quo politics or for a dynamic regeneration of Germany. The obvious protection and support given Schumacher by the British, the equally obvious antipathy of the Americans and the French (many of whom are Vichyites) toward the Communists, frightened many of the Social Democrats in the Western sectors of Berlin.

That the "independent" Social-Democratic Party in Berlin is primarily a disruptive oppositionist party was indicated by its "dismay" at winning the October, 1946, Berlin elections. Delbert Clark reported on October 22 from Berlin to the New York *Times* that "indications were that the Social Democrats were not prepared for the size of their plurality and not well prepared with an effective program for taking over the city administration. Some leaders of the party appeared dismayed at the prospect of immediately assuming full responsibility."

And all is not well in the "independent" SPD leadership. Two leaders have been arrested for former Nazi connections—one, Loewenthal, as a suspected Nazi agent; the other, Swolinsky, a member of the Berlin Central Committee and a resident of the American sector, for having worn the party badge of Nazi Party membership during the Hitler period. A third high official, Germer, also a member of the municipal committee, has resigned in protest against the lack of party democracy and the non-Marxist policies of the party.

THAT the Socialist Unity Party represents the majority of Germans in the Soviet zone was evidenced in the recent elections. Even in conservative Brandenburg and Mecklenburg-Pommern, where "neutral" observers predicted a hard battle for the party, the Socialist Unity Party proved stronger than in Saxony, traditional stronghold of the workers' parties, obtaining fifty-nine percent of the total vote in Brandenburg and sixty-nine percent in Mecklenburg. In these rural areas, of course, the peasants voted for the party that broke up the Junker estates and gave them land.

But in the West the battle for workers' unity has hardly begun. On Jan. 4, 1946, for example, five days after the Hessian provincial SPD meet-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing at which the party functionaries rejected unity with the KPD, the leaders of both parties in Heddernheim, a suburb of Frankfurt, drew up a resolution in which they attacked "sharply any member of either party who seeks in any fashion to prevent or upset the developing unity of the working class" and declared their support of the Wiesbaden Declaration. Knothe, the provincial chairman of the SPD, scolded the Heddernheim SPD leaders and forced them to retract this resolution. But a month later, the Sprendlingen SPD and KPD called upon the provincial SPD and KPD committees to establish working-class unity.

The hold of the right-wing SPD leaders over the working-class rank and file is shaky. A Social Democratic leader in Offenbach (American zone) admitted last winter that it was very difficult to counter the apparently "instinctive" desire of the workers for unity. In the trade unions, the workers have allowed no disunity, and the Communists expect the pressure for political unity to come from the trade unionists. A survey of workers in Augsburg last March showed forty to fifty percent of them favoring SPD-KPD unity even though the Social Democratic leadership in the city almost unanimously supported the Schumacher line. In February, 1946, representatives of the Frankfurt railway workers and of the I.G. Farben employes passed resolutions calling for the unity of the workers' parties. In March the industrial workers of the city of Wetzlar demanded unity of the two parties in the coming elections. In all the big cities of the Ruhr and the industrial Rhineland in the British zone, the unity movement is gaining momentum so rapidly that the frightened British MG forbade leaders of the Socialist Unity Party to travel and speak in their zone and ordered Ernst Heilmann, SPD leader in Flensburg, either to leave the British zone or to give up his membership in the Socialist Unity Party.

But the Social Democratic leaders in the Western zones cannot provide leadership to their working-class following even with MG support. The SPD suffered minor losses under the Nazis, and its old political machine has been resurrected almost intact. Even men like Noske (who recently died) and Severing — old traitors of the Weimar period — have been recalled as the "grand old men" of the party. These right-wing politicians often fear unity with the KPD because, among other reasons involving their reformist ideology, it may mean loss of their jobs; they have little to offer the workers urgently in need of food, clothing, housing and jobs.

The incompetence of the right-wing SPD functionaries to lead the workers is already being exposed. In the Greater Hesse Constitutional Assembly, which completed its work last October, the Social Democrats generally united with the Communists against the reactionary Christian Democrats and Liberals in demanding the inclusion of social security guarantees and reform of the corrupt civil service. But at one of the last sessions of the Assembly, in a surprise move, the Social Democrats reversed themselves and declared their complete agreement with the Christian Democrats, sabotaged the nationalization of a minimum of the provincial basic industry and surrendered some of the gains they had achieved in unity with the Communists. And in December, 1946, elections the SPD obtained only thirty-eight instead of their previous forty-two seats in the provincial legislature, while the KPD obtained ten instead of their previous seven seats.

The supporters of unity are under many handicaps. The SPD is the traditional party of many German workers, who vote SPD just like their fathers and grandfathers before them. The anti-Soviet propaganda of the SPD, a continuation of Goebbels' "bolshevik bogey," is still effective. But the right-wing Social Democrats cannot match the positive platforms of the Communists. The KPD allows no "western" or "eastern" orientations. The Communists, evermindful of the welfare of the masses, want no internecine strife and refuse to engage in the inter-party sniping practiced by the Social Democrats. Interzonal mail and accounts of travelers as well as the deliveries of food and coal reveal the superior conditions in the Russian one.

As time goes on and "western democracy" fails to produce the goods in denazification, employment, food and social security, the right-wing Social Democrats will lose their appeal.

American progressives, of course, have a stake and a responsibility in this struggle for the unity of the German working class. Only a united working class under dynamic anti-fascist leadership can assure the permanent eradication of German reaction and militarism. A united working class in Germany is a guarantee of a democratic peace.

MAQUIS A LA KOESTLER

An editorial by CHARLES HUMBOLDT

"I THINK Koestler is a koestler and I predict the word will live as the word quisling lives and the word Judas lives and the words Benedict Arnold live." So a reader of this man's latest book wrote to NEW MASSES some weeks ago.

It is hard to say whether Koestler's infamy will last forever, but there is need to remember it a good long while. Here is one who has learned a lesson of Hitler's better than the master himself. It is not enough for him to tell lies so great that people will be overwhelmed by them; he must accuse others of plotting what he himself wants to do. And he must do this with an air of sorrow; with small, elegant, spiritual sighs of someone who can hardly bear the wickedness of his fellow man.

Otherwise, it might embarrass the New York *Times* to employ him, as it did for an article on France in its magazine section of January 5. "Koestler Finds a 'Trojan Horse' in France. The Communists, he says, constitute a force which imperils the future of the Republic." So run title and subtitle of the article by this "disillusioned Communist," as the *Times* prefers to call him. According to him France is a modern Troy awaiting with dread and trembling the moment when the Communist hordes will issue forth from their hiding-place to take power and invite the ruler of Byzantium (Stalin) to enthrone himself. Now, he cries, there is no longer even the illusion of the Maginot Line to hold back the Eastern invaders, while Communist control of the labor movement has destroyed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the sovereignty of the French state by holding over it the mighty threat of a general strike. France is, alas, denied the spiritual retreat which she needs to "ruminate and crystallize her new values." She is given no rest by the wicked Communists who assail her with their "revolutionary *mystique*," as they assailed the Germans with their "anti-Nazi *mystique*."

Russell.

Well, this is the usual Koestleriana, a melange of voodoo, Madame Blavatsky, bogeyman and scarecrow stuff, all wrapped around the simple truth that the Communist Party is the strongest party today in France. Nor is it Koestler's aim to tell us why this is so: because the French Communist Party knows better than any other party how to rebuild the France for which seventy-five thousand of its members died as heroes. Because it sees clearly that the battle for production must be won before the independence of France can be guaranteed. Because, above all other parties, it strives to make work and democracy the prime factors in the restoration of the French nation. Its aims are not hidden. Anyone can read them for himself in Jacques Duclos' speech, delivered in Paris last March 20.* But there is no profit in that. One must whisper of secret caucuses, the capture of ministries, streamlined and disciplined Red Klansmen. Even the five million Communist voters must not be thought of as voters in an American sense; they are to be seen as a dark mass of conspirators, deluded but terrible. The fairytales that used to frighten dollars out of the purses and pockets of rich old ladies and gentlemen at private lectures on the Bolsheviki are now the pitch of capitalism's leading paper.

But there is something more ominous in Koestler's piece. It lies at the very beginning, in plain sight, where, like the purloined letter, it can be overlooked. Examine it carefully.

"From 1939 to 1945 we saw the limits of physical horror and spiritual sin recede beyond the limits of the imagination. As Frenchmen, we have lost our national sovereignty; as Europeans, we saw our civilization die a little more day by day. Now in 1946, it is revealed to use that this experience of foreign occupation, collaborationism and underground struggle was merely the first of others to come. We thought we had seen the end of the lie, of tyranny, cowardice and betrayal: it was merely a foretaste of our next inferno. . . ."

I will now quote Koestler on this document. "This is a quotation from an illegal broadside circulated in France; it is called '*Vers une Nouvelle Resistance*.' Its aim is to prepare the underground resistance against the next foreign invasion. There are a number of such broadsides, and a number of such groups behind them, ranging from monarchists to syndicalists, who regard themselves as the nuclei of France's next Maquis."

FRANCE's next Maquis! What are they hiding for? What kind of leaflets must be scattered at night in a land which is breathing in peace and freedom for the first time after six years of horror? Who are these foretasters of a next inferno? Do they hide because they used to strut on the boulevards with the Germans? Because they joined the real Maquis only to betray them? Partisans of the boudoir, Royalist trash, such as spit at Dreyfus and defame the memory of Anatole France, *Action Francaise* dandies with sword canes to use against workers, Cagoulard knights, mourners for the traitor Maurras, baron and count in the service of his holiness, Marshal Petain, *fleurs de lis* strewn in the path of the swastika—such are the monarchist heroes of Koestler.

And whom does he mean by syndicalists? One can guess. The cousins of those who rose against the Spanish Republic in its agony, claiming that the enemy was not Franco but the republicans and Communists; those who murdered Kirov and Gorky; those who cry for Mihailovitch but not for the Croatian farmers slaughtered by this "patriot"; who, trained by Italian fascists, now kill Arab farmers and British soldiers in Palestine without displeasing the British Foreign Office; Trotzkyites, terrorists and agents provocateurs, such are Koestler's anarchists. Such are the vermin who plan to infest France, who dream of great deeds in the underground struggle against the French people, and to whom betrayal is a way of life. And over these stranglers and stabbers broods their intense fake poet, fake philosopher, fake tragedian and Mother Goose, Koestler, trying to hatch new Lavals and Doriots, new miseries out of his crippled brain. The cow jumps over the moon and fools and killers become the saviors of France. And France so saved is to join an Occidental Federation to stem the tide of Oriental tyranny.

How much slime this man has mixed with the blood of his betters! Madrid, Moscow, Jerusalem have suffered his slanders, and now Paris where he sits like a sharp-eyed bird waiting for a death. Only this death he will not see. For the Communists, in the words of Duclos, "mean to continue France and we mean to continue it without ever losing sight of the fact that the destiny of our country is to be and remain a nation of enlightenment, a nation of universality."

Our French comrades do not have to be taught vigilance against Koestler. They know his type through bitter suffering. But here in America the *Times* can still hope to ensnare intellectuals and liberals with his pessimistic poison. This traducer of the Jewish people is only now raising doubts in the minds of many honest Jews, who could not recognize him as a provocateur until the appearance of *Thieves in the Night*. Frightened liberals still let him diagnose their paralysis in phrases that will flatter them. He is the god of those intellectuals who want us to regard their refusal to take part in the progressive movements of mankind as motivated by high, tragic considerations which we would respect if we were not so insensitive to "intangibles." It is time for them to be able to tell when "idealism" is Red-baiting, melancholy is snobbish contempt, and noble desperation is fascist terrorism and warmongering. Let them ask themselves: why did we not see before where this man was leading us? Purging themselves of him, they will see more clearly to what true values, rooted in the working class, their loyalty is due.

* Issued as a pamphlet by International Publishers, with the title, "France Faces Her Destiny." 10¢.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT CAN YOU INHERIT IN SOVIET RUSSIA?

A discussion of legacy provisions in a socialist society. How wills are made and protected by law.

By MIKHAIL S. LIPETSKER

This is the second of two articles. In the first, which we published last week, Mr. Lipetsker discussed the rights and limitations in the ownership of personal property in the Soviet Union.

PERSONAL property is transmittable by inheritance. Under Soviet law all citizens, irrespective of sex, age, nationality, social origin or status, have a right to inherit. The amount that can be inherited is unlimited; when a person dies, his property, no matter how large, passes to his heirs. Until 1942 an inheritance tax was imposed, but in that year it was abolished and since then no taxes or dues of any kind are levied on legacies.

All things that are objects of personal property may be inherited. However, if the owner had to have special permission to possess a certain property, it cannot be inherited unless the heir can receive similar permission. Nor are pensions or allowances, or similar benefits which are the perquisites of specific individuals, inheritable. Similarly, if the deceased was a member of a cooperative society, the privileges attaching to his membership do not pass to his heirs, but only the right to the refund of his share contribution.

Every Soviet citizen has the right to make a will providing for the disposal of his property in a different way from that which would occur under inheritance by law.

Wills must be in writing and, as a general rule, certified by a notary. An exception is allowed in the case of wills made by members of the armed forces in wartime, which may be certified by commanding officers or chiefs of military hospitals. Nor is notarial certification needed for instructions given by a savings bank depositor as to the disposal of his deposit, in the event of his death, or to cooperative organizations as to the disposal of share contributions. A written notification is sufficient in such cases.

Personal property may be bequeathed both to physical and to "juristic" (corporate) persons. If a person has legal heirs (wife or husband, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, parents, dependents, brothers or sisters), he may not will his property to other physical persons. He can only give instructions how his property should be distributed among the legal heirs, and in doing so he is not obliged to adhere to the order of inheritance or to the size of the shares prescribed in the case of inheritance by law.

He may increase the share of one heir and decrease that of another, or entirely deprive some heirs of their share and bequeath all his property to one or more of the others. He may not, however, injure the interests of minors or non-ablebodied heirs and must bequeath them at least the share to which they would have been entitled under inheritance by law.

If a person has no legal heirs he may bequeath his property to whom he pleases. And, as an exception to the general rule, he may bequeath bank and savings banks deposits to anyone he pleases, even if he has legal heirs.

Nicolai Cikovsky.

Personal property may also be bequeathed to "juristic" persons — the state, state institutions and enterprises, collective farms, cooperative and public organizations, and so on. Such bequests may be made irrespective of whether there are legal heirs or not.

The will may indicate a specific purpose or purposes for which the bequest is made. The testator may also impose obligations upon one or more of his heirs with regard to third persons, such as providing them with free accommodation in the inherited house, and the heir can decline to accept the obligation only by renouncing the legacy.

All formalities in connection with the execution of wills are conducted by a notary. Disputed questions are settled by the courts.

An heir may renounce his share of the legacy. If he does so before the death of the testator, the latter may appoint a substitute heir.

Personal property may be owned in common by several persons, and is then known as joint property. Joint property may arise as the result of the inheritance by several persons of shares in one and the same indivisible thing, or by the acquisition of a thing in common, or by the cession by a person of a share of a thing he owns to other persons.

Each owner has the right to a definite share in the joint property, even if that share is ideal, *i.e.*, does not extend to some definite physical part of the thing, but only to a part of its value.

The possession, use and disposition of joint property is determined by agreement among the owners, or, in the absence of unanimity, by a majority of the owners. The method of distribution of the fruits and income derived from joint property is likewise determined by agreement, as is also the distribution of the cost of maintenance, exploitation and management.

The property of man and wife is a specific form of joint property. The rules governing the joint property of man and wife extend to all Soviet families except peasant families, *i.e.*, the families of collective and individual farmers.

The joint property of man and wife is such property as they acquired (purchased or produced) since their marriage. The property which belonged to either of them before marriage re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mains his (or her) property and the other party has no legal right to it.

Property acquired by a couple since marriage is considered their joint property irrespective of whether it was acquired in the name of both or of only one of them. In particular, Soviet legal practice holds that a house acquired after marriage, but entered in the Building Register in the name of only one of two, is nevertheless to be regarded as the joint property of both. An exception to the general rule is the case of savings bank deposits, which, if made in the name of only one of the couple even during marriage, are regarded as belonging to him (or her), and the other party has no claim to them.

A DIFFERENT set of regulations, however, governs the property relations of the peasant family (whether of collective or individual farmer). The basic nucleus is the peasant household (if it belongs to a collective farm it is called a collective farm household). The Land Code defines the household as "a family-labor association of persons jointly engaged in agriculture." It should be noted that, if the household does not belong to a collective farm, the agricultural enterprise conducted by the members of the household represents their principal source of income. If, however, the household does belong to a collective farm, the joint establishment of the members of the household is of a subsidiary character and serves only to supplement the income they derive from the collective farm. Apart from their joint agriculture enterprise—principal or subsidiary—the members of a household are also linked by the fact that they conduct a joint domestic economy.

The rural household is something wider than the urban family. It may consist not only of the husband and wife, their minor or unmarried adult children, near or even remote relations; the household not infrequently comprises two or more couples—married brothers or sisters, say—together with their progeny. What is more, even persons who are in no way related by kinship to the other members may be adopted into a household.

The able-bodied as well as the non-able-bodied, including minor children, are all equally members of the household.

The property relations within the peasant (collective farm) family are as follows:

Dwelling houses and farm buildings, livestock and poultry, agricultural implements and machines, crops sown and orchard planted on land occupied by the household, the crops gathered from this land, proceeds from the sale of produce, whether from the collective farm or family holding worked by members of the household, food, fodder and seed stocks, furniture and utensils used in common, etc., constitute the joint property of the household.

All income earned by individual members of a household on the collective farm or elsewhere remains at the disposal of the person concerned and does not become the property of the household.

Articles of consumption and convenience in personal use by individual members of the household, personal gifts, awards and premiums, savings bank deposits and the like, are the personal property of the particular member of the household.

The management, use and disposal of the joint property of the household are decided by the common consent of all adult members, or, in the absence of unanimity, by a majority. A head of the household, who may be a man or a woman, is selected by the members to administer the family holding and to represent the household in relation with other persons and with the authorities. The household head may be deposed by the members of the household and another appointed in his place.

The system of property relations established by the law and Constitution of the USSR is based on the principle of harmonizing the interests of society as a whole with the interests of the individual citizen.

The fact that all the major industries and means of production are socialist property and belong to Soviet society as a body effectively protects the interests of the whole people.

Socialist property promotes the augmentation of the national wealth and of the national income of the Soviet Union and, hence, the improvement of the standard of living of its citizens.

It makes it possible for the people to plan their national economy in their own interests. It was socialist ownership of the means of production which enabled the Soviet people to defeat the Nazi invaders and to uphold the liberty and independence of their country.

The Soviet system of property, however, does not reduce all citizens to one level and compel them to conform to one and the same standard of living. Each citizen may possess all the property and enjoy all the benefits of life that he is capable of earning by his own labor. The property acquired out of his earnings he may utilize and dispose of at his discretion. The Soviet laws protect his personal property and his enjoyment thereof.

This harmony of social and private interests is the very essence of the Soviet system of property.

OCCUPATION: HOUSEWIFE

The table is spread with my skin.

A thousand dreams go down
A thousand drains.

Sunset and evening star and safety pins.

Look for me, the adorable blonde child,
Under the plumped-up cushion.
Ash trays and cremation.
My prince daily at the door,
The bowing bill collector.

Not a dust mark anywhere.
Run your finger over the furniture;
Only feel, curved as a cat,
The small sound of despair.

EVE MERRIAM.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

review and comment

THIS IS NOT ITALY

A country seen through a glass darkly. How romantic despair can distort historic truth.

By ALFRED GOLDSMITH

ALL THY CONQUESTS, *by Alfred Hayes. Howell, Soskin.* $2.75.

IN "ALL THY CONQUESTS" Alfred Hayes, the poet, writes a first novel which attempts to capture the life of Rome during the early days of its liberation from the Nazis by American troops. Like Paris, like other cities pried out of Nazi hands during the war, Rome became immediately a bazaar of cheapened human values. All the ironies of life were on sale and love came at knockdown prices; sadism and cynicism did a strip-tease on boulevards and side-streets. Underneath this surface were, as always of course, the facts of life: fascism for one; and for another, the joy of the liberated turning into a frustrated contempt for the liberators. Taking that rich mural of Roman life in the summer of 1944 and fashioning it into art is a major task for the novelist. Hayes does not achieve a major novel, but he does do some extremely talented writing on his theme. He does it in a mood of romantic despair that is the dominant literary mood of our time.

In terms of sheer talent, no other war novel to date equals *All Thy Conquests*. In the simple matter of readability (which is really not so simple) it is miles beyond the clutter of wordage that passes for narrative in so many stories. Hayes has the poet's power to hear. There are pages which you might say without condescension out-Hemingway Hemingway. In a good many places you will be listening to the unmistakable tones of Eliot's *Wasteland*—a poet whom Hayes has absorbed a little too well. But if the music of other men creeps into his lines, Hayes can make music of his own: his American soldiers speak a rythmic speech that, for this reviewer, restores the time and place of World War II soldiering more authentically than any writing has managed to do so far. To pick out a superb example, there is the description of a drunken soldier on leave making a pass at an Italian girl while she walks with her sweetheart. Within the soldier's tone of murderous anger are the harrowing accents of loneliness and terror. After all, did anyone really explain to the Schultes of the American Army what they were fighting for? Out of the girl's talk, the soldier, Schulte, understands a single word—Anzio.

> "What did she say about Anzio?" he said. For Anzio was sacred, Cassino was sacred, the beachhead at Salerno was sacred. Assunta could have said, with more safety, that he was guilty of incest.
>
> "Listen, sister," Schulte said. "Do you want a rap in the mouth too?"
>
> "Alright," Harry said. "Cut it out."
>
> "I'll rap her teeth in," Schulte said. "What did she say about Anzio?"
>
> "The dame's scared."
>
> "I'll scare her. I'll cripple her she opens her yap about Anzio."

With the facility Hayes has exhibited in his poetry he manages to illuminate lives, though he does not give any full-fledged characterizations. Given a quick, bittersweet kind of identification, his people proceed through a series of vignettes toward ironic climaxes. Giorgio, the anti-fascist bartender, must in the end beg his old boss, a collaborationist, for a job again—and not get it. The aristocrat, Aldo, finally reaches the conviction that he can make a go of things in the new order of Italian events. In this Roman gallery there are Americans, too. They pursue love in varying patterns—from the combat soldier, Harry, looking pathetically through taverns for the girl who washed his aching back on liberation day, to Antoinette, the embassy girl who "found her natural capacity for love very much enlarged" when she got overseas.

A fascist on trial for his life is the central symbol of the story. In the end he is torn to pieces by the crowd and thrown into the Tiber. The crowd disintegrates, breaks into private lives; they must now find their bread, having had their circus. This is the climax, the last of a series of ironies, some brittle, some profound, about love, politics and war. An eyewitness to the death of the fascist sips lemonade and speculates on whether the fascist will have spaghetti and wine in hell. Because if he does have them, it might be better to be dead in hell than alive in Rome.

Victory over the Nazis, the end of fascism in Italy, become, in this story, a bitter taste on the tongue. There are no real victories. Socialist, fascist, aristocrat, soldier are all victims. Victims of what? Of their own weaknesses, their own illusions. Life is its own enemy. It mocks us all.

IT IS far from an attitude of sweetness and light to insist that the kind of romantic despair projected by *All Thy Conquests* is a grave distortion of reality. We live in a time of powerful evils and any sensitive projection of those evils anywhere in the world is within the province of the artist. Moreover, the subjective despair of the artist as a theme has validity if it is treated as descriptive of an individual reaction. But it is when that subjec-

Flax.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tive despair attempts to become rational philosophic concept, when it attempts to prove despair as the true objective reaction to the sum of events, that we are compelled to combat and reject it. We live in a time in which a war against fascism was successful — yet the same old evil begins to grow again, in the very countries which helped destroy it. The Jewish victim of German Nazism becomes now the Jewish victim of British imperialism. You can reel off the ironies of current events by the hour. We live in a time in which specific evils—the laws of property, the corporations, the politicians, the generals who make the evils—tend to lose their specific character, tend to merge irrationally in the mind into a single opaque conception of life itself as an undifferentiated evil. It is this mood which pervades so much of American life at the moment. Is it stretching a point to say that it resembles the mood of the savage who finds in thunder, flood, darkness and plagues merely representations of the general hostility of the environment to human life? Is this existentialism? We know the makers of Italian misery as specific men and specific forces, which had a determinable strength, a determinable weakness and a determinable end; not symbols that prove the fundamental failure of life.

Hayes' book is not nearly as significant as the quick and universal praise it found among the critics. The praise shows a current predisposition to accept, uncritically, any text that emphasizes the mockery of the human effort to fight for itself. And when this is done, as Hayes does it, with elements of real compassion and real sensitivity, then the critics rush, like kids after candy.

But in Hayes' story we are not confronted with reality, much as separate elements in it contain reality. It is not Rome that you see but a careful selection of materials in Rome to support a conception which Hayes packed into his barracks bag together with his canteen when he went overseas. Rome is the setting for the sometimes cynical, sometimes warm-hearted evocation that Hayes has always practiced in his poetry. In the figures of the fascist and the Prosecutor we have really brilliant observation on the behavior pattern of fascists. Moreover, this fascist is sentenced to death out of an inexorable causation, poetically rendered. Yet, in spite of this stroke of realism, what does the fascist represent in the finished design of the story? He is the apex of the glittering corruption of life.

On that same teeming mountain of corruption the Socialist, Martelli, makes his new political power an instrument of personal vengeance. The anti-fascist, Giorgio, is continually itching with "the lice of self-pity." These characterizations are in themselves real enough; but if you wish to demonstrate a conception of life through a representative gallery of characters in a certain setting, you must project *all* the real types who live in that setting.

In this gallery one character is missing, and it seems clear that he is missing because his presence would have exploded the low, chanting melody of *All Thy Conquests* sky-high. The missing character is the potent figure of the Partisan. He, along with the Communist, who was the core of every resistance movement, was the single practical counterforce in the midst of all the cynicism, opportunism and self-pity which bathed Europe under Nazism. In the real Rome set in the real Europe he ambushed Nazi detachments, disrupted Nazi communications. That he could arise at all against the fierce repression and the accomplished fact of Nazi power is a truth about the strength of human life at least as true as the fact of human weakness. And it is not some arbitrary "social consciousness" thesis that demands his presence. He is required here because Hayes himself has declared his esthetic purpose, which is to reflect the spirit of the real city of Rome in a real historic setting. It is surely pertinent to consider that the Italians, working in this same historic setting, could fashion a movie like *Open City*, with Partisans and populace both directing blows against a tangible enemy. This fierce creative energy lived in the very city which Hayes describes, and in the same time that he describes it, yet it is missing in his description; not an alley or house or cafe in Hayes' Rome reveals the Partisan, not even in passing. And so total an absence is surely the result of a severe need to repress the figure of the Partisan; of a traumatic inability to deal with him.

This is the postwar style. Not powerful enough to create tragedy, it settles for pathos. Its devotees move about, their spines laden with a lethal fluid like the insect-victims of the spider, mumbling that life—not the

"The Russians may have started another revolution—this time in the world of cinematic art.
—CHICAGO NEWS

ARTKINO Presents
'STONE FLOWER'
First Prize Color Film
At International Cinema Festival
Directed by A. PTUSHKO
STANLEY 7th Ave., Bet. 41 & 42 Sts. WIsconsin 7-9686

SECOND WEEK
"The Taras Family"
A scathing indictment of race hatred
Also HARRY BAUR in
"The Mad Emperor"
IRVING PLACE IRVING PL. at 15th St.

Jan. 20 to Feb. 22
6 Painters of Tomorrow
Darnell • Deckinger • Heller
Kramer • Maltese • Rowe
Tribune Subway Gallery
100 W. 42 St. (Sub. Arcade Downstairs)

HERB KRUCKMAN
WATER COLORS and GOUACHES
Sunday, Jan. 26 — thru Feb. 21
RoKo Gallery • 51 Greenwich St.
(East of 7th Ave. and 11th St.)

Framing is an Art
For the unusual in old and modern prints, also original paintings.
For individuality in framing
Visit
The Little Frame Shop
195 WEST FOURTH STREET
Work Shop: 25 Cornelia St. CH. 2-1340

THERE IS ONLY ONE
RUSSIAN SKAZKA
RESTAURAN
227 WEST 46th ST. • CI 6-7957

MEN RELAX — KEEP FIT!
Special Yearly Gym Course $135.00
Special For Boys
Boxing Scientifically Taught
WOMEN—Mon-Wed-Fri 10 a.m.-9 p.m.
Special Short Courses
GOODWIN'S GYM
1457 Broadway (42nd St.) WI. 7-8250

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CRITICS AGREE

PANCHO GOES TO A FIESTA

is the most intelligent and musically sound album of children's records to date. This songful album, containing two ten-inch records, is just right for youngsters. The delightful tunes, equally delightful lyrics, and captivating story, enchant the small fry. Music by George Kleinsinger, story by Paul Tripp and lyrics by Beatrice Goldsmith.

* * *

". . . *this is another example of the intelligent and musically sound children's fare which is still the exception more than the rule.*"—S. Finkelstein, NM.

* * *

". . . *the most delightful of the recent crop of children's records is Pancho.*"—H. Taubman, NY Times.

* * *

". . . *delightful tunes and equally delightful lyrics . . . just right for youngsters.*"—Hal Davis, PM.

* * *

PANCHO GOES TO A FIESTA

can be purchased at the

Jefferson School Bookstore
575 Avenue of the Americas

Workers Bookshop
50 East 13th Street

Club 65 Bookstore 13 Astor Place

A Jupiter Record

specific agents which wear upon its spirit—is the enemy.

And listening to this world-weariness, the cold-eyed magicians who produce war, fascism and park benches for veterans can smile behind the bank pillars. Now that the fashion is to say that life itself is the enemy and progress a delusion, can their spring be far behind?

The Locusts

ACRES OF ANTAEUS, *by Paul Corey. Holt. $2.75.*

WITH this farm novel Paul Corey has made a notable addition to his sagas of Midwest American life. In *Acres of Antaeus* he opens a vital new field for the writer in the violent drama of the predatory expropriation of farm lands by the many-headed cartels—the land, implement, machinery, seed and feed companies and insurance and packing monopolies. Between them all they pick the farmer clean, grabbing the land by default, mortgage, seed or feed loans—one way or another. Fences are torn down, old boundaries destroyed; the big company-owned machines move in, plowing, planting, reaping, hiring the farmer and his family as new-made serfs, driven and exploited on their own expropriated land.

Jim Buckly, the leading character, fresh from agricultural college and just married, is forced to take a job with one of these monster corporations and finds himself being crushed between his job and his desires to be a small independent farmer and family man. He is torn between his own class instincts and his job as manager of the mass farms. He wants to "make good," but every step in his own success riles the farmers to revolt.

Corey has not quite mastered the complexity of his theme. His story, moving continually from Jim to the stooges of the big corporation, and then to the farmers, exhibits a certain diffusion and sketchiness. There is considerable confusion in Jim's reverie at the end of the book which is inconsistent with the meaning of the forces shown in Corey's story. Jim feels that some of the confusions of his life are about to be dissolved (actually it seems they are only beginning) and thinks, "the days of building empires were over, even agricultural empires. The land had to belong to the people who farmed it; the land was too much of a living thing to be left to the quarreling and bickering of men interested only

Mutch.

in making money. The farmers would have to learn to own the machines of mass production cooperatively; then they could compete with the growing corporation farms."

Paul Corey, an honest and vivid observer, has himself, in the material of the novel, refuted the possibilities of such a peaceful solution. He has clearly shown the violent, ruthless, predatory forces of the cartels; the organization of the masked fascist rowdies who beat and almost hang a young worker; the venality of the office bootlickers and stooges who carry out orders, the struggle of the big companies to devour each other, and their amoral, vicious contempt for everything human in their path.

The power of the book seems to rest not in the single individual Jim, but in Corey's splendid portraits of the old farmer clinging to his farmhouse on the prairie, warding off his enemies and the mortgage which sucks the blood of all his kind, of the farmers' wives and daughters, so full of work and warmth and courage, and of the farmers' organizing to resist the corporations.

We owe Corey a debt for opening this rich vein and uncovering its great potentials. It is hard and daring to wrestle with this material in all its mammoth dimensions and implications.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here is a subject for a new kind of *Moby Dick* or a Midwest *Germinal*, and Corey has blasted the mountain open.

MERIDEL LE SUEUR.

No "Curtain"

AN AMERICAN CHURCHMAN IN THE SOVIET UNION, *by Louie D. Newton. American Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, N. Y. 10 cents each; bundles of 50 or more, 8 cents each.*

ONE of the tragic results of the ceaseless anti-Soviet campaign waged by American business interests through the press and radio and publishing houses is a disposition on the part of the public to distrust all friendly reports on the USSR as "pro-Soviet." The pathetic question "Whom can we believe?" comes repeatedly to every public speaker in this general field.

If there is any American whose personal integrity is (or should be) unassailable, it is Dr. Louie D. Newton, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, and president of the Southern Baptist Conference. Although *Time* magazine instantly smeared him with the caption "Innocence Abroad?," countless American church people know him as a hard-working, utterly dependable religious conservative whose one political heresy has been his interest in Russian War Relief, which he supported because there were fellow-Baptists in Russia. If his word cannot be trusted by the American public, whose can?

Dr. Newton went to the Soviet Union last summer as a member of a Russian Relief delegation of seven leading American citizens. The *Atlanta Journal* commissioned him to write a running account of his trip and now these newspaper articles are reprinted in a forty-eight page pamphlet by the American Russian Institute, illustrated with striking photographs taken by the delegation. There is no political comment in this material. It is descriptive, in the form of a simple narrative of the journey, but five impressions emerge and carry a substantial impact.

The Russians gave the delegation every opportunity and facility to see what they wanted, with only one advance stipulation—that they do their criticizing on the spot and not when they got back home, so that full information as to both the facts and the Soviet viewpoint could be given them before they formed their final judg-

Become a Charter Subscriber to

MAINSTREAM

The new Marxist literary quarterly scheduled off the press this month. Because of the paper shortage, the first number is limited to 10,000 copies. Practically the entire first issue *has been sold out in advance.* There is still time to secure the first number, however, if you rush your subscription in without delay.

◆

WINTER, 1947, CONTENTS

CRISIS IN AMERICAN LETTERS.....*Editorial*
THE MAN WHO MADE GOOD IN AMERICA (story)....*Thomas Bell*
CONFESSIONAL (poem).....*Dalton Trumbo*
PARRINGTON AND THE SEARCH FOR TRADITION
John Howard Lawson
TRUMPET PLAYER: 52nd STREET (poem).....*Langston Hughes*
PARTISAN REVIEW: ESTHETICS OF THE CAGE.....*Milton Howard*
THE DAWN SWINGS IN (story).....*Lance Jeffers*
FOUR GREEK POEMS.....*Anonymous*
ON REALISM IN THE DRAMA.....*Frederick Engels*
NOTES FROM THE GALLOWS.....*Julius Fuchik*
THE SEASONS ON NINTH STREET.....*Milton Blau*
SONG FOR MY TIME (story).....*Meridel Le Sueur*
FIVE NEGRO NOVELISTS: REVOLT AND RETREAT....*Theodore Ward*
JACOB LAWRENCE, AMERICAN ARTIST.....*Gwendolyn Bennett*
THE THEATRE CRITIC AS THINKER.....*Arnaud d'Usseau*
THE FOLK ART OF SHOLEM ALEICHEM.....*Morris U. Schappes*
STENDHAL'S SENSE OF HISTORY.....*Joseph Bernstein*

SUBSCRIPTION $2.00
Single copy 50 cents

◆

National Distributor:

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
832 Broadway • New York 3, N. Y.

Give one of these pamphlets to your "liberal" friend who thinks Stepinac is a martyr—and watch him change his mind—

Those Responsible for the Second World War

(The true uncensored story of the Vatican intrigues in the Balkans which led to two World Wars.)

25¢ per copy • 5 copies for $1

AGORA PUBLISHING CO.
Dept. A56NT
120 Liberty St. • N. Y. 6, N. Y.

LEARN RUSSIAN

Beginning, Intermediate and Advanced Courses

REGISTER NOW

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

58 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS OFFER CLOSES
FEBRUARY 1st

NEW MASSES
(1 year subscription: $6)

PLUS

One of These Books

1B THE AMERICAN—*Fast*
2B THE GREAT CONSPIRACY *Sayers and Kahn*
3B THE JUNGLE—*Sinclair*
4B THE UNVANQUISHED—*Fast*
5B THE BIG ROAD *Norman Rosten*
6B SHORT STORIES—*Albert Maltz*
7B CLODS OF SOUTHERN EARTH *Don West*
8B SISTER CARRIE—*Dreiser*
9B LOOKING BACKWARD *Bellamy*
10B CAPITAL—*Karl Marx*
11B THE ROAD TO THE OCEAN *Leonov*
12B FIVE TITLES:
LITTLE LENIN LIBRARY—
1. Teaching of Karl Marx
2. State and Revolution
3. Letter to American Workers
4. Problems of Leninism—*Stalin*
5. Imperialism
13B WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT: Selections from His Poetry and Prose. Edited, with an introduction, by Samuel Sillen
14B MARX'S "CAPITAL": An Aid to Students of Political Economy—*A. Leontiev*
15B THE ORIGIN OF FAMILY PRIVATE PROPERTY AND STATE—*Frederick Engels*
16B THE NATURE OF CAPITALISM *Anna Rochester*
17B JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER: Pioneer of American Socialism—*Karl Obermann*
18B JEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY —1654-1865—*Philip S. Foner*
19B ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO—*Herbert Aptheker*
20B THE PROBLEM OF INDIA—*R. Palme Dutt*

GIFT SELECTION No.....

Send order to
NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Name of Subscriber.....

Address .....

City & Zone.....State.....

Name of Donor.....

Address .....

City & Zone.....State.....

(Add 50¢ for Canadian; $1 for Foreign Postage)

ments. They found everyone eager to answer questions and to discuss matters at length. The institutions they asked to visit were shown them from top to bottom. Nothing was held back. They were deliberately shown the slums and older sections. At every point the Russians revealed a complete confidence in their own institutions and patterns of life, showing a willingness to put them on display and a readiness to let them speak for themselves.

The visitors were shown the devastated areas of Byelorussia and the Ukraine. In a few vivid paragraphs, Dr. Newton leaves an indelible impression of wiped-out cities, Nazi depredations and brutalities, and such sobering aftermaths of war as four million orphans and six million half-orphans. No once can read this description of a people that has tasted all the bitterness of war and again be misled by the most cruel of all the current lies about Russia, that her people are belligerent and do not work for peace.

The concern for the children as the hope of the nation's future impressed every member of the delegation. What with the crowded housing and shortages, life in postwar Russia has its somber side for the older folk. What they have they are expending for the coming generation, that its life shall not be blasted by the war.

Bursting through these pages is the vitality of the Soviet peoples: the far-reaching plans of reconstruction, the libraries crowded with workers hungry for knowledge, the packed concert halls and theaters, a mere 200,000 people at a symphony concert in a public park, group singing in open city squares, folk dancing and sports. Referring to leading individuals they met in government offices, factories, hospitals, Dr. Newton says again and again, "He would be a top executive in anybody's league."

Most impressive of all is the straightforward and simple description of church services and the church leadership he found among the Baptists in Russia. As a modest minority believing and practicing a Bible-based religion, the Baptists provide an excellent test-case for the degree of religious liberty which exists in the USSR, especially since immediately after the Revolution they had a pretty hard time of it. No one can see the photographs of these crowded churches, the sincere pastors, the young people, without realizing

(*Continued on page* 31)

THIS OFFER CLOSES

FEBRUARY 1st

NEW MASSES

(1 year subscription: $6)

plus one of these

Children's Books

1A TOOTKA—Little Russian Train
Igor's Summer
Little People in a Big Country

2A YOUNG FOLKS OF THE AMERICAS

3A THE EGG AND THE CHICK
by Millicent E. Selsam
32 pages, 3 colors, cloth. Ages 6 to 9

4A CLIMBING THE FAMILY TREE—*by Alex Novikoff*
A book of science for youthful readers. Age 12 and up. 96 pages, 3 colors, cloth

5A THE STORY OF YOUR COAT—*by Clara Hollos*
Pictures by Herbert Kruckman. Ages 6 to 10

6A HOW THE AUTOMOBILE LEARNED TO RUN—*by M. Ilin.*
Pictures by Herbert Kruckman. Ages 7 to 10, 32 pages, 3 colors, cloth

7A I HEAR THE PEOPLE SINGING—
Poems *by Walt Whitman*
Illustrated *by Alexander Dobkin*
Age 12, 96 pages, 35 drawings, cloth

GIFT SELECTION No.....

Send order to
NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Name of Subscriber.....

Address .....

City & Zone.....State.....

Name of Donor.....

Address .....

City & Zone.....State.....

(Add 50¢ for Canadian; $1 for Foreign Postage)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sights and sounds

POT OF GOLD

Humor, song and dance are harmoniously blended with social commentary in "Finian's Rainbow."

By JOSEPH FOSTER

"FINIAN'S RAINBOW" is one of the best musicals that ever hit Broadway. It is superior to such blue-ribbon works as *Oklahoma, Showboat, Bloomer Girl, Porgy and Bess, On the Town,* and others of similar class. It may yield a little here on the score and a little there on direction, but in its totality of book, music, dance, decor and that indefinable thing called tone, this musical, fashioned by E. Y. Harburg and Fred Saidy, runs away from the field. It blends the elements of humor, song and dance, the basic components of the musical show, to produce one of the most joyous evenings of the theater. But it does more. Unlike other shows of this type, it brings the outside world into the theater, and mingles sharp satire and barbed comment with the other more accepted conventions of showmanship.

The opening is a touch of genius. The rising curtain uncovers Sonny Terry, the blind Negro harmonica player, alone on the stage playing a sharp, wailing song of warning. In its relation to the scene that follows it is like the introductory solo instrument in a symphonic structure. The next scene, introducing the principals, the dance and singing chorus, the heroes and the villains of the piece, establishes the theme for the evening. The hirelings of Senator Billboard Rawkins, unmistakable prototype of Bilbo and every poll-tax Senator, are trying to foreclose on the sharecropped land of a GI about to return from the wars.

In the middle of it all are Finian McLonergan and his daughter Sharon, come all the way from Glocca Morra to seek his fortune in the new country. To help him in the quest he bears a pot of gold stolen from the rainbow of the leprechauns in the auld counthry. His acts are guided by folklore and homespun wisdom. It is his belief that the prosperity of America comes from the buried gold at Fort Knox. What could be more logical than to buy a pinch of ground, bury the pot of gold, and then become rich? As he says, digging the gold out of the ground brought a rash of trouble to the world. Putting it back into the ground radiated wealth. Later he discovers that the real wealth comes out of the ground by the toil of the sharecroppers, and that tractors mean more than nuggets.

In the course of its unfolding, *Finian's Rainbow* has much to say about Jim Crow, white supremacy, the poll tax, Negro and white unity and the bigotry and arrogance of the Southern politico. It suits action to its social attitude by using Negro and white actors, dancers and singers so naturally as to expand the spirit and bounce of the cast beyond anything witnessed on the professional stage. It ridicules the pretenses of the reactionary poll-taxer not only in dialogue ("I been too busy defending the Constitution to read it"; "My family has been having trouble with immigrants ever since we landed in this country"; "Forward to the principles of the glorious South, forward to yesterday!" and other such Senator Billboard aphorisms) but in the Harburg lyrics as well. Best of all it couches the satire and the witticisms so skillfully within the medium of the musical comedy that even people not quite ready to accept the indictment of Jim Crow find themselves applauding such sentiments.

E. Jaedlker.

In addition to the excellent book, *Finian* abounds in songs that you will remember and hear long after you have left the theater. I particularly liked "Glocca Morra," "If This Isn't Love," "Something Sort of Grandish," "Look to the Rainbow" and "Great Come and Get It Day." The dancing of Anita Alvarez is of uncommonly high quality, as is the puckish leprechaun of David Wayne, in pursuit of the gold upon which the elves' magic is founded. Ella Logan as Sharon McLonergan mugs somewhat, but not enough to mar the irresistible personality that she brings to her performing. Albert Sharpe, who was imported from Ireland for the part of Finian, makes his introduction into the American theater in a role that fits him like a glove. He brings with him a salty manner and a surefootedness on stage that just suits the shrewd and sly guardian of the potted gold. Michael Kidd as the choreographer, Burton Lane, who wrote the score, Bretaigne Windust, the director, and Joe Mielziner, scenic designer, all had a hand in shaping the final product.

Harburg and Saidy, in *Finian's Rainbow,* and in their earlier *Bloomer Girl,* point the way to a genuine people's theater. By the expert use of the musical comedy theater it is not only possible but easy to put over many a social and political argument. This Sabinson-Katzell show at the Forty-sixth Street Theater exposes the mannerisms of our domestic tories with a grace that is a pleasure to behold. Unfortunately, the costs of production and the costs of admission on Broadway are so high as to remove it from the reach of most people. We thus have a people's theater imprisoned behind the high wall of box-office.

But if you can afford the price of admission, I can promise you an evening of solid satisfaction.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plum point
vacation fun 1 year round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

Camp Beacon
BEACON, N. Y. BEACON 731
Everything for the Perfect Winter Vacation
• SKIING
• TOBOGANNING
• SKATING
PLUS
CASS CARR'S BAND
Every Saturday Night
RESERVE NOW!
ACCOMMODATIONS LIMITED!

50 miles from New York
Mamanasco LAKE LODGE
A resort of distinction fashioned from a magnificent private estate. All winter sports, Skating on 1½ mile lake, bicycles, ping pong. Roaring fireplaces. Excellent book and musical libraries. Famous cuisine.
Phone: Ridgefield 820
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

HOTEL ALLABEN
Jack Schwartz, *Prop.*
Make Reservations for Your Winter Holiday
NEW PROGRAMS EVERY WEEKEND
501 Monmouth Ave., Lakewood, N. J.
LAkewood 6-0819, 6-1222

OPEN YEAR ROUND
Winter Vacation in a Friendly Congenial Atmosphere
Arrowhead
Reasonable Rates
Indoor and Outdoor Sports
SKATING, SKIING, TOBOGANNING
OPEN FIRES, RECORDINGS
ARROWHEAD, Ellenville, N. Y.; Tel. 502

"The Big Two"

In "The Big Two" a good intention and a good idea did not get the playwriting they deserved from the authors, L. Bush-Fekete and Mary Helen Fay. The intention was to promote better relations between Americans and Russians; the idea, that the two peoples have basic affinities which, given a chance—in this case the catalyst of love—will cause them to unite with chemical completeness.

Here is a theme about which a dramatist, in the present emergency, can be excused for being passionate or, at least, serious. And by serious I do not necessarily mean tragic. Irony, as Shaw has shown, can drive home serious ideas and deep feelings as efficiently as any more sober means. The mistake of the authors did not lie in their decision to make *The Big Two* a comedy. It lay in their decision, or in their yielding to pressure, to make it comic in box-office terms. Consequently gag lines reverberate through the script, driving out ideas, consistency and character. I have long felt that the gag line, as used on Broadway and, still more lethally, in Hollywood, is the chief dissolvent of character and has done more to destroy individuality in acting than anything else except the fetish that all lead characters must not grow beyond their early twenties.

In *The Big Two* the gag lines succeed in reducing the American girl correspondent and the Red Army officer, who are used to embody American-Soviet friendship to trivially formalized types. The girl is so obviously the stock spoiled American female, selfishly jeopardizing anything—in this case, three peoples' lives—for the standard journalistic scoop that, if true, it would fully justify Soviet indignation. In turn the Red Army officer is an automaton so priggishly duty-bound, serving the collective will with such depersonalized completeness that, if true, it would fully justify American distaste.

Nevertheless, under these unpleasant alleged American and Soviet shells of type, vibrant human individualities are supposed to beat and to leap into fulfillment at the release of love. What happens, as the denouement of the play presents it, is the reduction of the pair to another type, the genus lovers as known on Broadway. In this new type they become a shapeless ooze that drips over frontiers and clogs all responsibility.

The roles given to the principals, Claire Trevor and Philip Dorn, as the correspondent and the Red Army officer, were so contradictory, and the lines they were given to speak were so destructive of individuality, that these two fine actors were unable, despite their charm and graceful bearing, to construct credible character on the stage. In the minor roles, however, which were comparatively unburdened by dialogue, leaving the actors to create them, the indicated types were filled out into solid characters. This was conspicuously the case with Felix Bressart playing Platchek the black marketer, E. A. Krumschmidt playing the furtive Moser and Olga Fabian playing the pathetic, non-Aryan Fraulein Berger.

Isidor Schneider.

HENRY MOORE

The work of one of the greatest living sculptors, Henry Moore, is on view at the Museum of Modern Art until March 16. Anyone concerned with present-day art cannot afford to miss it. Moore, an Englishman, is an artist who has recaptured in contemporary form the full creative assurance we envy in the work of some of the earlier civilizations like the Mayan or Chinese.

Moore's chief form is a reclining female figure whose shapes create a single rythmic pattern embodying a feeling of great inner vitality. By creating a contrast of large and small forms and simplifying the entire unit he dramatically reshapes it into *one* whole rhythmic form. Rather than a series of interrelated planes, as we find in Egyptian or Aztec sculpture, in Moore's work we have a fluid form, something that appears to grow organically from within as in early Chinese stone carvings. And as he explores his figures the shapes expand and contract, curve gently or rush vortex-like to the next form, ever malleable but blunted and proportioned by a remarkable sensibility. It is like a melody, now soft in contour, now swollen, embracing the tender and the monumental in one line.

Moore's studies of pebbles, rocks, stones, trees and water, as well as his studies of the human figure, have supplied him with a syntax rich in metaphor. There are continual overtones in his work, the grandeur of a mountain, the suppleness of a tree, the laving of a shore, surrounding his female

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Mother and Child," sculpture by Henry Moore. At the Museum of Modern Art through March 16.

figures. That he consciously strives for this concept is amply witnessed by his beautiful wash drawings of nature forms gradually metamorphosed into human forms. These frame the gallery walls like a running commentary on his more "solid" art. In fact, they should be carefully studied before examining the sculpture if one wants really to experience Moore's vision.

In Moore's earlier sculpture we find a "Mother and Child" of 1925, executed in simple yet massive block forms so typical of work we see everywhere about us today, and which we readily associate with architectural decoration.

Also in this period is a strange head done in lead which shows how he might have developed a morbidly psychological aspect of his art. Piece by piece we find him outgrowing the Aztec influence, slowly coming under the modern influence of Arp, Lipschitz and Picasso, and finally emerging in his own monumental form, very modern yet potent with tradition, a combination of the sensual and the austere.

The grandeur and dignity implicit in his simple human figures lend them a large social aspect in the art of today. Whereas a cult of pessimism and an obsession with the fragmentary are so much in current evidence, Moore reveals the unified life, its fertility, its hope and its aspirations. His latest work, a series of family groups (here seen in the smaller models, dated 1943-45) are probably his finest works to date. They may have been influenced in part by the air-raid shelter series (water-colors, 1940-41) commissioned by the British government during the war. In these latter the tragedy of the "civilian" war is unfolded to us in the same language used in his sculptures. The massive folds of the garments lend a heroic cast to the huddled or reclining groups. This was a most enlightened government commission, and shows how well the modern artist can function socially if given the opportunity.

One of the shortcomings of the show is the lack of more of Moore's larger works. There are only two here. There may have been shipping difficulties, but the presence of some of these works would have helped to round out his fullest creative attainments. I can see no excuse, however, for the lack of photographs of several of the major monuments he has created in England. Here is certainly a man who, together with Lipschitz and Zadkine, has not merely shown the potentialities of the modern monument but has created the monuments themselves.

JOSEPH SOLMAN.

AN AMERICAN OPERA

HAD *The Warrior,* a musical play by Bernard Rogers and Norman Corwin, been produced as a radio hour, it would have been cheered. Publicized as a prize-winning opera, and the first American opera to be produced by the Metropolitan in ten years, it is a deep disappointment. The disappointment is greater because a living American opera is a vital necessity, the missing link in our musical culture. Opera more than any other large-scale musical form can be the peoples' own, the means through which the most advanced musical techniques can be made explicit and dramatic to an audience, the means through which composer and audience can attain that operating unity which is the healthiest basis for a national music in any form.

The trouble with the work was, first, that Norman Corwin's play wouldn't last two days on any stage by itself, and that is no kind of play to set to music. One of the most widely-held misconceptions is the one that an opera must have a melodramatic, and otherwise meaningless, libretto. It was in an entirely different spirit that Mozart chose Beaumarchais' *"Figaro,"* that Verdi chose Schiller, Shakes-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOING TO LAKEWOOD?
VISIT THE
JEFFERSON HOTEL
'A WINTER HOME AMONG THE PINES'
- FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE
- ALL WINTER SPORTS NEARBY
- REASONABLE RATES

124 Third St. • Lakewood 6-0672
EVA CHASANOV, *Prop.*

Need an Extra Bed?
or Studio Couch?
Use Any Bed Spring With Attachable
BED LEGS
Do It Yourself In 5 Minutes at Home
Buy a Set of Legs Today
— at —
Gottlieb Hardware
119-3rd Avenue
(corner 14th)
GR. 7-4547
I. Fishman
261 E. 172nd St.
Bronx
LU. 7-2647

Jewish Life
Vol. 1, No. 4 • February, 1947

Contents

Jews Face the Threat of the Columbians *by George Leonard*
Political Line-Up in the Yishuv *by Esther Valenski*
Anti-Communism, Anti-Semitism and America *an Editorial Article*
A Jewish Controversy Over Slavery *by Nathan Ausubel*
The Song of the Mountain Jews *a Poem translated by Ber Green*
In the Tradition of National Epics *by Moise Katz*
Numerus Clausus *by Mark Isaacson*
The Content of Jewish Culture *by Alexander Bittelman*
What is Progressive American Jewish Culture *a Series of Discussion Articles*
Commentary on "An Epitaph for Sidney" *by Morris U. Schappes*
Soviet Power and the Jewish People *by Y. Peikin*
World Congress Faces Crisis *by A. Raisky*
EDITORIALS NEWS ANALYSIS

Out January 15, 1947
15¢ A COPY
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
U. S. and Possessions . . . $1.50 a year
Canada and Foreign . . . $2.00 a year

Subscribe Today

JEWISH LIFE,
35 E. 12 St., New York 3, N. Y.
Please enter my subscription for one year. Enclosed is check (money order) for full amount of my sub.
Name .....
Address .....
City .....
P.O. Zone..... *State*.....

peare and Hugo, that Wagner wrote his own bewildering but nevertheless ambitious poetic dramas, that Moussorgsky turned to Pushkin. Corwin's setting of the Samson story does not recreate a convincing atmosphere of Biblical times, nor does it bear any clear symbolism for our own. There is a coy but superficial delineation of Delilah in a single speech, in which she justifies her deed as a proof of the power of the despised female, and Samson's defiance of his tormentors brings up vague connotations of the anti-Nazi, but these characterizations do not go deep enough to give the play a content of ideas.

Yet it was this play which Rogers, a most capable composer, chose to treat with such attention to the naturalness of every word and action that he left himself no opportunity to speak freely as a composer. What he produced was a most skillful and brilliant piece of movie background music. Operas can be written in many styles. Mozart and Verdi stopped their action to develop their characters in elaborate and beautiful arias, or had them all singing together in great, expressive ensembles. Debussy, at the other extreme, wrote in *Pelleas* a highly charged musical speech in which each word set off magical musical reverberations, like a bell, or a pebble dropped in a pond. Each of these composers chose the particular style he did not because it was more advanced than any other, but because it served best the kind of music he was able to write. The basic formula for an opera has never changed. It is to choose a play that has genuine human and social meaning for the composer, and to find or create a set of formulas, or conventions, that will enable him to write as great and expansive music as he can about the themes suggested by the play. Rogers seems to share the inferiority complex of many American composers, who feel that they must use only the most "advanced" techniques. Wagner "advanced" over Verdi, and Debussy "advanced" over Wagner, and not to go further in that direction would be to lay himself open to charges of vulgarity and conduct unbefitting a gentleman-composer. Or perhaps he took the easy way out, for it is easier to write this atmospheric music than to create music that, whether as a set aria or a more flexible melodic line, portrays the inner life and emotions of a human being.

Rogers' music is distinguished by an

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline, Fri., 4 p.m.

ReKo GALLERY **ReKo FRAMES**
Exhibition of Drawings and Prints by Leading American Artists
Expert framing at reasonable prices
We solve all framing problems
51 Greenwich Ave. (east of 7th Ave. & 11 St.)

WILL BUY
Completing collection of Marxism and History C.P.U.S.A. Wish to buy collection or individual books, pamphlets and periodicals. Write to Engar, 1931 Grove Street, Berkeley 4, California.

FOLK SINGER
Experienced Broadway actress sings Irish, Scotch, English, American Ballads at small parties. Leave message for B. Zehar at Le. 2-1100.

HOUSEKEEPER
Part time housekeeper, fully competent to market, plan meals. Good cook, light cleaning. $1.00 an hour. Box 59.

WANTED
Fund Raiser for progressive organization; energetic, imaginative; travel; experience desirable, not essential. Write Box 60, NM.

BAGS, BELTS
Ladies Bags, Belts, made to order. Repairing and Remodeling, reasonable. NEW YORK FASHION BAG CO., 1133 Lexington Ave., New York (near 79th St.). RE. 7-5242.

INSURANCE
LEON BENOFF, 391 East 149th St., N. Y. For every kind of Insurance with efficient service. MELrose 5-0934. Free Information.

INSURANCE
CARL BRODSKY—Automobile, fire, life, liability, burglary, plate glass, surety bonds, compensation etc. Any kind of insurance, 799 Broadway, New York City. Tel. GRamercy 5-3826.

EYE CARE
EUGENE STEIN, Optometrist—Eye examinations—Glasses Fitted—Visual Training. Room 507, 13 Astor Place (140 East 8th St.), NY 3. GRamercy 7-0930.

PIANO TUNING
Piano tuning, repairing, tone restoring and reconditioning. Pianos bought & sold. Ralph J. Appleton. 595 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. Tel. PL. 3-0566.

TYPEWRITER CO.
Typewriters, mimeos, adders, office machines repaired. Buy, sell, exchange. Monthly service. 100% union. Vets. A & B Typewriter—633 Melrose—JE 8-1604.

LINGUAPHONE WANTED
Wanted (reasonable) a used Linguaphone, German Records and text, immediately. Call Pr. 2-6515 evenings after 8 P.M.

RESORTS
RESTFUL VACATION AT HEALTH REST, VEGETARIAN. Delicious food, comfortable rooms, baths. Spring Valley N. Y. Phone Nanuet 2316.

VINEYARD LODGE
Charming modern farm hotel, 200 acres—unusually beautiful country, seasonal sport, new tile showers, wood burning fireplace, well balanced American Jewish meals. Adults only. Open all year. Vineyard Lodge, Ulster Park, New York. Kingston 659 J2.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

absolute mastery of harmony and instrumental timbre; the sheer variety of sounds he gets, the manner in which every episode on the stage seems to evoke its own particular musical texture, is fascinating. He uses his materials with the utmost economy and for their full value, so that he will build up high excitement with a passage for drums alone where another composer might achieve less with a full orchestra. His lyrical passages, if fragmentary, are often very fine, as in Delilah's lullaby or Samson's meditations. This kind of art can be used with the utmost value by radio and the motion-picture, where the best American artists still have only a tiny foothold. However, my disappointment stems from the fact that the medium of a living stage opera calls for a different esthetic, based on the fact that this medium has always risen to greatness through its presentation of human beings and social symbols. As long as our gifted composers handcuff themselves, the best American opera will be, for all its faults, the Broadway musical. Here, at least, the audience can sometimes find human beings it can recognize, in a language of song that it can also recognize as characterizing them.

S. FINKELSTEIN.

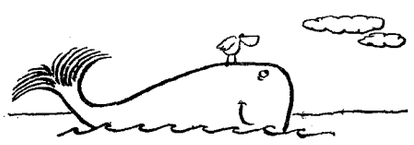
No "Curtain"

(*Continued from page 26*)

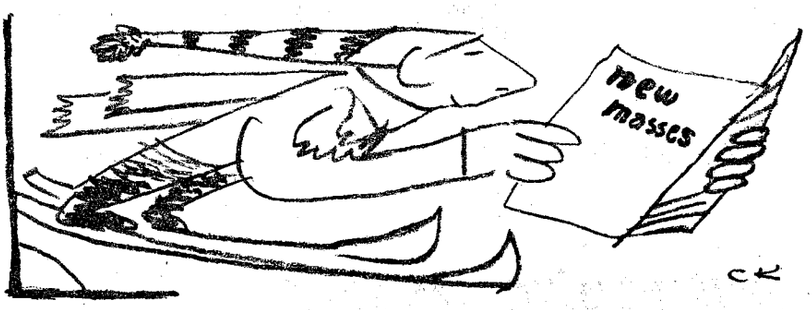
that there is respect for conscience in the USSR and a substantial organized religious life going about its business without state restriction or intervention.

Without special pleading this little pamphlet tells many things Americans want to know about the Russians. It scotches thoroughly many of the misrepresentations of the Soviet Union and awakens a genuine interest in this enormous country and its varied peoples. It is an apostle of truth and should register with people for whom longer and more detailed books are not yet appropriate. Local groups might well see that all local ministers are given it, and then are asked to bring it to the attention of their people.

WILLIAM H. MELISH.



Orban.



NEW MASSES' WINTER CARNIVAL
February 12-13-14-15-16
AT
Arrowhead Lodge, Ellenville, N. Y.

RATES: For the 5 days: $35
For 2-day week-end (Sat.-Sun.): $18
For 3-day week-end (Fri.-Sat.-Sun.): $24
For one week: $45 and $50

Send reservations directly to Arrowhead Lodge, Ellenville, N. Y.

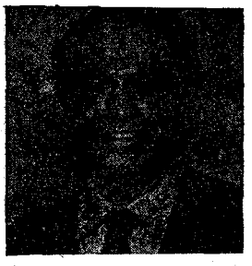
Chartered buses leave from New Masses office, 104 East 9th Street
Tuesday, February 11 at 7 p.m. Friday, February 14 at 7 p.m.
Bus returns late Sunday afternoon. • Round trip by chartered bus: $5

Make bus reservations thru
NEW MASSES, 104 E. 9th St., GR. 3-5146 with deposit

Get the Answers:-

1. *What makes a foreign policy?*
2. *Why our foreign policy is what it is.*
3. *What the Republicans have up their sleeves for Europe and Asia.*
4. *Brass hats and top hats in American diplomacy.*

Hear
JOHN STUART
Foreign Editor of New Masses
SPEAK ON
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY



Monday, January 27th, 1947 • 8:00 p.m.

WEBSTER HALL
119 East 11th Street
New York, N. Y.
ADMISSION: $1.00

Final lecture in Series on American Civilization

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW LIFE IN THE OLD WORLD

- ***new masses brings you:***
- ***authentic reports***
- ***penetrating analysis***
- ***brilliant commentary***

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

on the new Europe from world-famous writers . . . on the march of the millions toward a reconstructed society. . . .

REGULARLY IN NEW MASSES

- **LOUIS ARAGON**
- **R. PALME DUTT**
- **ILYA EHRENBURG**
- **DEREK KARTUN**
- **SERGEI KOURNAKOFF**
- **JOHN LEWIS**
- **CLAUDE MORGAN**
- **WALTER STORM**

DON'T MISS A SINGLE ISSUE. SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

$1 for ten weeks' trial subscription.
$6 for one year subscription.

Name..... Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED